

# The Challenge of Childhood



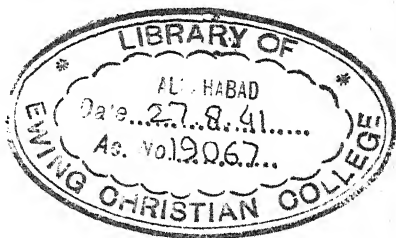


# THE CHALLENGE OF CHILDHOOD

STUDIES IN PERSONALITY AND BEHAVIOR

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*To S. R. W., as a weak tribute to her loyal companionship, unselfish aid, helpful devotion, and unending inspiration, I dedicate you, O Book, and bid you spread her ideals among others who would serve childhood well.*

I. S. W.



## Preface

THE impulse to write this book grew out of an experience of twenty years of work with children in dispensaries, settlements, schools, penal institutions, and in their own homes. I have been brought face to face with a vast variety of problems involving children, and in the general course of my professional activities, particularly through my Health Class at Mount Sinai Hospital, it has been my frequent privilege to aid other physicians, visiting nurses, teachers, public health nurses, probation officers, social workers, and parents in their dealings with children.

Gradually I was made conscious of the need for a book of practical discussions that might serve to assist all these different classes of persons in understanding the nature of many problems of childhood. The children discussed are real children. They are a few of the many whom I have seen at the request of the various groups mentioned. And it is for these workers and parents, and for all those who love children and wish to gain a deeper insight into their nature and manifold problems that I have prepared this book.

It makes no pretence to comprehensiveness. I do not assume that I have covered a major portion of the field. Nor do I labor under the delusion that final principles have been enunciated. My main purpose has been to stimulate thought. Agreement or disagreement with expressed opinions is less important than the formulation of ideas. If those who read this book are moved by it to a more deliberate and careful thinking about children, my chief purpose will have been realized.

A further purpose has been to set down a study of the problems of specific children in such understandable terms as to prove of service to all those upon whom devolve the responsibility and the obligation to help children develop physically, mentally, and morally. If, in this way, either

parents or professionals are afforded some moral encouragement and practical assistance, then my words will have yielded an adequate message.

Upon the quality and intelligence, as well as upon the scope, of the efforts made to guide childhood to socially effective adult life depends much of the future of civilization. The multitude of capable, devoted men and women whose lives are consecrated to this purpose bears witness to the extent and complexity of the problem. It is my deepest hope that to such workers this record of experiences and opinion may be helpful and fruitful.

*New York, June, 1924.*

I. S. W. •

# Contents

PREFACE . . . . .	vii
GENERAL INTRODUCTION . . . . .	3

## Division I: Physical Problems

INTRODUCTION . . . . .	15
1 <i>Olive</i> . . . . .	22
2 <i>Emily</i> . . . . .	24
3 <i>Carmela</i> . . . . .	27
4 <i>Clara</i> . . . . .	32
5 <i>Sascha</i> . . . . .	42
6 <i>Harriet</i> . . . . .	46
7 <i>Maria</i> . . . . .	53
8 <i>Herbert</i> . . . . .	60
9 <i>Ralph</i> . . . . .	62

## Division II: Intellectual Problems

INTRODUCTION . . . . .	69
10 <i>Raphael</i> . . . . .	84
11 <i>John</i> . . . . .	87
12 <i>Rosa</i> . . . . .	90
13 <i>Robert</i> . . . . .	93
14 <i>Joseph</i> . . . . .	97
15 <i>Frank</i> . . . . .	101
16 <i>Julian</i> . . . . .	103
17 <i>Vera</i> . . . . .	109
18 <i>Ellis</i> . . . . .	112
19 <i>Frances</i> . . . . .	119
20 <i>Betty</i> . . . . .	123
21 <i>Sandy</i> . . . . .	129
22 <i>Mavis</i> . . . . .	133
23 <i>Angelo</i> . . . . .	138
24 <i>Helen</i> . . . . .	144

The first of these is the fact that the
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INTRODUCTION	231
38 <i>Beatrice</i>	238
39 <i>Connie</i>	240
40 <i>Elaine</i>	243
41 <i>Frederic</i>	247
42 <i>Alfred</i>	249
43 <i>Paul</i>	254
44 <i>Harold</i>	259
45 <i>Henry</i>	263
46 <i>Charles</i>	267
47 <i>Edward</i>	271
48 <i>William</i>	276
49 <i>Walter</i>	281
50 <i>Elizabeth</i>	284
CONCLUSION	295
INDEX	303



# The Challenge of Childhood

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## General Introduction

CHILD life is a jewel of many facets, of varying glints, fire, hardness, and planes of cleavage. If we would determine its nature, value, use, and acceptance of polish we must employ the crystallographer's technic. The crude child-crystal is built of instincts and emotions, mental potentials, and physical structures. The problem of cutting and polishing concerns the community.

It is my aim to sink shafts into nature's mines to secure specimens of matrix and child-substance. These we shall study and subject to careful analysis.

No two stones are exactly alike. Neither are any two children. The tools and methods used upon the hard, brilliant diamond would crumble a soft opal to dust. Similarly, we cannot subject all children to the same instrumentalities and methods of education. The child is an individual entity. Just as a stone with a flaw in it may be cut so as to minimize its flaw and render it less conspicuous, so the child may be educated (using the word in its broadest sense) in a way to minimize the effects of its inherent or acquired defects. The crystallographer's problem is to make the best possible gem out of the uncut stone. The social problem in dealing with the child-jewel is to bring about its development in a way that will realize to the utmost every potential for full and useful adult life.

The child's existence as a human being is conditioned by its heredity and its environment. These are the two fundamental factors to which all others ultimately may be referred.

The child's hereditary endowments for good or evil are fixed for all time at the instant of conception. All subsequent influences are environmental in character: pre-natal influences, such as maternal dietary, natal influences, such as birth accidents, and post-natal influences, which include such diverse factors as climate, geography, the economic conditions of the times, the specific economic condition of

the parents, the social and moral atmosphere of the home, the influences of brothers and sisters, of religion, of schooling, of teachers and playmates, of the accidental and unforeseen, of ever-changing conditions—economic, political, social, and moral—of the interaction of all of these, of the response of the growing organism to each and all of them and to the reactions of each upon the other in an ever-widening circle of influence which reaches through space to the ends of the earth, and through time to the end of the individual's life.

Each child at each stage of its development, from conception to adult life, has specific physical, mental, emotional, and moral potentials.

Its physical potentials are compounded of its anatomical structure and its functioning, modified by pathology.

Its mental potentials are determined by the quality of the brain and of the nervous system and sense organs that serve the brain, each and all being modified and conditioned by the physical.

Its emotional potentials arise out of the nervous system as it is conditioned and modified by the mental and the physical.

Its moral potentials have no separate existence. They are but the to-be reactions of physical, mental, and emotional being to the social as that impinges upon the child in a multiplicity of ways.

Thus we see that none of these categories really exists, that we create them for the sake of convenience and simplicity in discussion. "Wholeness of life" is no mere phrase, for the physical, mental, and emotional are inseparable and ever-interacting parts of the whole. But, though personal life is a unit, it is understandable only after recognition of the elements that contribute to its development. In this sense the evolution of health and happiness is a continuous expression of living in terms of the forces within and without the body.

Patently, the individual is an organism that reacts to environmental influences and this reaction is expressed through physical, mental, emotional, and moral responses.

The common attitude which regards health as a mere absence of the symptoms of physical disease is obviously

absurd. Health is a state of being that results from the interaction of all the elements bound together in life. Health is relative. The degree to which it is evidenced depends upon the combined activities of factors growing out of the anatomy, physiology, and psychology of individuals. It thus depends upon the make-up of the individual organism. This becomes more apparent as we study childhood and its difficulties.

A child born with an anatomical variation such as spina bifida (a defect in union of the bony processes of the spine) is handicapped; its immediate life may be threatened by infection, or its future development may be impaired by a subsequent lack of control over the legs or bladder. Similarly, a congenital heart disease, a club foot, even a sixth finger are factors which may determine health values in so far as they militate against living fully and in useful service.

Nevertheless, structural defects are less dominating than functional disabilities. A child may have a complete anatomical equipment (in so far as is demonstrable) and yet slight variations in function may impair its capacity for life. For instance, there is a functional disorder of the thyroid gland in which its secretion is deficient, or even totally absent and a sluggish, slow-moving body results. Likewise, there are functional variations of the other endocrine glands and of the viscera (heart, kidneys, stomach, bowels, etc.) which interfere with normal development and may destroy the joy and value of living.

In dealing with the child's mental potentials there has been, too, a tendency to regard categories as absolute and real. Fortunately this tendency is being outgrown. We should not fence individuals off in pens of mental status, calling one group "idiot" and another "moron," except as a convenience, and never without clearly realizing the arbitrary and unreal character of these categories.

Intelligence runs the whole gamut, from the vegetative idiot up to the supreme genius. Between the few idiots at the bottom of the scale and the fewer geniuses at the top, there are the varying millions of mediocre, or average minds.

The essential difference between the low-grade mind and

the high-grade mind is one of richness and expansibility. Consider, for example, the perceptive power of an average mind, which, adequate for observing the ordinary things of daily life, lacks the capacity for distinguishing nuances of color, contour, and shadow, which are so real to the artist. Among other inherent mental powers one notes that memory, association, coördination, reactivity, and reasoning vary from slight power to tremendous special potentials. In so far as the intellectual weakness or strength is inherited, its influence upon health is beyond the immediate complete control of the individual. Hence the evidence of complete health is determined to a considerable degree by the physiologic forces that condition every reaction to the environment.

The child's mental background is of paramount importance in regulating its life activities. If a child has inherited a generally weak cerebral endowment it is, of course, handicapped in the struggle for existence. Yet even a highly organized intellect may possess a specific disability which interferes with social effectiveness, while a child whose general level of intelligence is below the accepted plane of normality may possess some special power, which, properly applied, may save it from a life of failure and anguish. There are many instances of so-called mental weaklings unable to add four place numbers or learn the multiplication tables who have been saved by the possession of musical talent or some particular constructive ability.

In studying the child's mind there are many reasons why we should not place sole dependence upon psychometric examinations (mental or intelligence tests). Mental endowment is more than the capacity for acquiring formal educational material. Intelligence should be measured in terms of the capacity for making adjustment to new situations. But this involves emotional stability, and, so far, no psychometric examinations have been devised to measure all the emotional factors affecting mentality.

Man is more than his intellect. Personality is determined by emotional as well as by purely intellectual factors. The question which of two children of about equal capacity for educational achievement will succeed the better often depends upon those unmeasurable emotional factors. In-

## General Introduction

7

deed, the emotional factor may so far modify the intellectual as to reverse its influence. Thus, the quick-minded child, who lacks concentration and application, who is irritable and restless, may be, and often is, outstripped by the less gifted child who plods diligently, smiles as he plods, attentive in all his endeavors.

It is personality, compounded of many factors and actuated by countless forces in the environment, that determines and crystallizes ideas and trends into attitudes and habits. Our vocabulary recognizes the existence of these personality attitudes: we speak of the cheerful and the gloomy, the brave and the timid, the companionable and the unfriendly, the straightforward and the evasive. And we know instinctively that the reaction to the same event of children of opposite attitudes will be strikingly different.

The mental tests also fail to take cognizance of the motives underlying action. Both capable and incapable intellects are governed to a considerable extent by directive energies which are not in consciousness. These motives are stimuli to action and they arise from the impress of envioning agencies. Hence an understanding of the child demands a consideration of home conditions, neighborhood characteristics, companionships, communal ideals, and all social agencies affecting him.

Patently, children of similar physical and intellectual endowment are subjected to diverse influences in differing home atmospheres. In one home the child breathes an atmosphere of comfort, culture, and social refinement; in another it is steeped in squalor, ignorance, and brutality. The influence of the first familial environment is far different from that of the second. Amid orderliness, courtesy, patience, sympathy, and understanding, currents are set loose that tend to develop the corresponding traits in the embryonic personality. But if within the walls alleged to be home there is discord, arrogance, selfishness, and jealousy, it is these destructive agencies that mould the plastic being.

But familial influence does not stop at such obvious considerations as these. There are more subtle influences at work in the home. Many a home atmosphere, which to the casual observer might appear beneficial, is neverthe-



## 8 The Challenge of Childhood

less harmful. Thus, parental solicitude for the child's welfare may be carried to such an extreme as to undermine physical well-being and lay the foundation of fears, anxieties, sluggishness, and inactivity. Because of this subtle interaction between the child's individual constitution and the ideas and ideals distilled in the home, the familial factor must always be carefully considered when interpreting the phenomena of child life.

Similarly, the general tone of a neighborhood affects the physical, mental, and moral well-being of the child. The parked residential areas of large cities, restricted so as to eliminate noisome features, protect health and character. The "gas-house" districts, "Hell's Kitchen" and other localities with a sort of *nom de guerre* are admittedly demoralizing to adult life, but are far more potent in blighting child life.

There are vast differences in the standard of living and in the value of social factors in the various areas of concentrated nationality. The racial, religious, cultural, and nationalistic traditions differ in the Italian quarter and in the Ghetto, in the Irish section, and in the German neighborhood. Too often the best of these specific factors is destroyed in an effort to Americanize the children, without adequate compensation in other ways. Childhood suffers in neighborhoods where there is language difficulty, industrial fatigue, a lack of education and room congestion with its limited privacy. Economic stress and social struggles seriously affect moral guidance. Little wonder that an illiterate, tired, frequently exploited, foreign-tongued neighborhood produces its toxin to youth.

At the very time when the child is seeking self-respect and weighing the worth of devotion to adult ideals of truth, honesty, loyalty, and service, it is plunged into the maelstrom of such neighborhood currents. Unconscious of the force of the stream, unable to see the ugly hidden rocks beneath its surface, the child whirls toward the vortex that threatens it with the loss of the finest and best of life.

Under ordinary circumstances the major influence outside of the home is companionship. The later spirit of the gang is only an evolution of the latent contacts that grow stronger when child finds in child a common interest,



whether it be in dolls or marbles, ball or basketry, hiking or collecting bugs. The elements conducive to aggressive leadership or submissive following are soon liberated. The competitive and coöperative traits expand and contract. The trials of friendship undergo birth, maturity, and disillusionment. Endurance, bravery, sportsmanship, initiative, honesty, and self-control are tested as well as muscles.

The cruelties of youth are no greater than its courtesies, though their effects are more sharp and potentially more disastrous. A cripple may be aided or ridiculed, but the latter has the deeper effect. Children, muscularly weak, are at a disadvantage, as are those with inferior intellectual capacity. The child who is a variant is at the mercy of his companions. If he has cross eyes, stutters, weeps easily, or is dull witted he finds himself subject to stresses and strains which may permanently affect his health and contentment. The child desires companionship and seeks to belong to a group which in turn makes its impress on him. The group thought and action subject individual standards and ideals to group pressure; and they make, mar, or modify a child in relation to the ego, the family, and society. The dare, the teasing, the threat of ostracism, the desire for self-exaltation, the urge to be a sport, all conspire to give companionship a driving force which is spent upon the body, mind, and soul. Good companionship, bad companionship, no companionship, determine types of experience which later may re-issue in behavior as love and hate, honor and dishonor, obedience and lawlessness.

Childhood constitutes a phase of social living. Hence it is subject to all the social forces that mould conglomerate life. It is turned and polished on the lathe of community spirit. A lack of communal ideals as manifest in constructive agencies for the protection, recreation, education, and ennobling of childhood is a fertile source of juvenile delinquency. No community that ignores its primary duties to a growing generation should blame youth for shortcomings that might have been avoided. All the many agencies that administer in some way or other to the physical, mental, and moral well-being of childhood are to be regarded, not as isolated evidences of rational administration, but as

## 10 The Challenge of Childhood

the inescapable and imperative functions of a many-angled communal organization.

A multitude of interesting causes are moulding life constantly. There is comparatively little definite knowledge concerning the causes and effects that pull and push, protoplasm. Even the behavioristic psychology fails to cast light upon most of the practical problems of childhood. Scholarly treatises on reflex action and habit patterns cannot solve the difficulties of children who lie and steal, who are dull or stupid, or who suffer from *wanderlust*.

Realizing the inherent complications that arise in endeavoring to localize the main causal factor of any problem, I shall indicate a variety of problems in which the essential approach may be regarded as physical, mental, emotional, or social. I recognize that the validity of this method may be questioned. Nevertheless, experience has demonstrated the practical value of this classification. The primary approach does not mean that it is the only one, but rather that it is of paramount value in the specific case in question.

The analysis of the problems of childhood are for pragmatic purposes; i. e., to indicate the basic rationale of treatment. Patently, an important feature of any problem lies in its causal elements, as upon them and their peculiarities must be based all constructive plans for treatment. Fortunately, by reason of the interwoven fabric of child nature, a pull upon a single thread may close up a rent, straighten out a pattern, cause a beautifying alteration in its color scheme, or even modify its usefulness.

The fallacy of *post hoc ergo propter hoc*, which may be roughly translated as the assumption that because one thing follows another their relation must be that of cause and effect, is of universal application, but there is less evidence of this lax logic in readjusting children's lives than in most other forms of current therapeutics. Even the correct medicament must be adequately and properly utilized to effect a cure. Quinine will cure malaria, but it often fails to do so because of incorrect dosage or lack of timeliness. One might enumerate countless instances of the failure of scientific theory because of faulty method. On the other hand, literature abounds in examples of

fallacious conclusions as to the value of remedies. The legitimate trial of new drugs involves a careful study of many variables in order to eliminate the danger of incorrect deductions. A new serum, a much-heralded vaccine, a mustard plaster, a horse-chestnut, or a bag of asafetida is regarded as of unusual merit merely because the *post hoc* vagary has not lost its appeal to the human mind. And the mystic cults and pseudo-scientific sects thrive on adherents who disclaim or ignore logic. Using far higher standards, the results of the analyses of children's problems and the treatment based thereupon demonstrate their fundamental verity and pragmatic serviceability. Whether or not the fourfold classification be wholly scientific, the fact remains that the group of problems placed in each category cannot be solved without stressing the approach along physical, mental, emotional, or social lines. The classification is merely a means of comparison and not an essential part of the problems of children.

It appears highly desirable to particularize problems, and to this end a variation of case presentation is useful. It is impossible to run the gamut of child experience, and therefore I shall select a series of concrete problems. The total number of fifty is arbitrary, but it aims to afford opportunity for a wide discussion within the range of each group. The problems of these fifty children are the problems of many million children. The illustration of method is my aim rather than the establishment of absolute principles. Elasticity of plan is essential, and dogmatism becomes a source of danger. General rules possess a definite place in the regulation of living, but deviates from the average require a special application of judgment for meeting their problems. Hence the plan followed in specific instances becomes suggestive rather than definitive.

Even such a simple problem as increasing bodily weight involves adaptations to personal peculiarities. To say that every child must drink a quart of milk daily is not tantamount to securing the drinking of the milk. Nor are tantrums to be overcome by rule of thumb. Lying, stealing, truancy, and school failure are not subject to a common law applicable to specific children, even though the rational treatment of children tends to lessen the likeli-

## 12 The Challenge of Childhood

hood of the occurrence of such lapses. The basic variability of hereditary factors, and the different exposures to influences arising in the environment, destroy the value of universal rules for healthful living.

Samuel Butler, in "Erehwon," tells of a land where it is a crime to be ill; instead of physicians the profession consists of "straighteners." In view of the difficulties that arise from efforts to cure faulty habits after the lapse of years, it is imperative to straighten out children during the years of greatest plasticity, of promptest reactions, and of sharpest susceptibility to direct and indirect suggestion. The scientific background of social medicine requires interpretation and transmutation into the art of straightening the kinks of body, mind, and soul. The most valuable service we can render to the growing generation lies in the field of prevention. The problems of disease, vice, crime, invalidism, poverty, perversions of function, and delinquency may be attacked most profitably and successfully while the tissues are in process of growth and development, while the current of life is merrily bubbling and habits are in a state of flux.

## Division I: Physical Problems



## Physical Problems—Introduction

THE physical being is the basis of existence. The range of life potentials exists in the body, bound up in a complicated structure of anatomical parts. The anatomy fails to account for vitality, though it conditions it and is dependent upon it. Not the mere possession of organs but their functioning is the greatest determinant of health. Function—dynamic power—is the *sine qua non* of effective living. A child is more than the sum of bone, flesh, blood, and nerves. Skeletal, circulatory, respiratory, gastro-intestinal, excretory, and reproductive systems are essentials, but their influence upon well-being is to be interpreted in terms of functional capacity. Each system is geared up with all the others. They are all parts of the child, yet all of them together do not constitute the living child.

Back of the physical being there are forces, not of man's creation, whose power alone reflects life. Let philosophers and theologians, atheists and deists quibble over the nomenclature. The spiritual quality of being is an essence that permeates the vital organism and constitutes not merely the breath of life, but the heart throb and the nervous currents that animate it. Between the last moment of life and the moment of death is an infinite interspace. While man cannot directly influence the life-giving force, he has attained a certain degree of competence in regulating the mechanism through which it expresses itself. The physician is an engineer whose physical, chemical, and mechanical field is the machinery of life. He functions best when he can continue its operation and improve its efficiency.

Few children are perfect machines; nearly all of them have inherited and acquired constitutional and functional deviations. Evolution is not a process limited to the past, but is ever continuing, and humanity is in course of evolution. Man's physical maladjustments become more patent with a realization of his living in an ever-changing environ-



## 16 The Challenge of Childhood

ment. Man's brain has outrun his body in the race, and this has created many of his physical infirmities or their causes.

It is estimated that 75% of school children possess some glaring physical defect. Thomas D. Wood's estimate for the 20,000,000 school children of the United States claimed the following:

Mental defects .....	1%
Tuberculosis .....	5%
Defective hearing .....	5%
Defective sight .....	25%
Diseased tonsils or adenoids .....	15-25%
Deformed feet, spine, or joints .....	10-20%
Defective teeth .....	50-75%
Malnutrition .....	15-25%

The average child is an abnormal child, if the normal child is to be regarded as one free from all physical defects. Under the circumstances, it is patent that function is an important consideration. Every impairment of function merits serious consideration. If, therefore, the majority of children are admittedly functionally below par, it behooves man to labor assiduously to raise their standard of mechanical, physical, and chemical efficiency.

It is trite to comment upon the mechanical interaction of the physical parts of the body and their mutually invalidating potencies. The scales of financial adjustment utilized in legalized compensation systems are based upon the relation of specific physical handicaps to earning capacity. Definite amounts are awarded for the loss of an eye, an arm, a leg, hand, finger, etc. But these monetary compensations do not represent true assessments of the value of vital functions. They concern themselves with the machine characters of the men and not with the richer human qualities of the machine. Child life and limb are low in the scale of economic values until the earning power becomes imminent. The question of the effect of perverted or diverted function upon life itself, as reflected in social attitudes or aspirations, is rejected as beyond statistical computation.

In considering the physical problems of childhood one is obliged to take cognizance of the intangibles—the pos-



## Physical Problems—Introduction 17

sible results of derangements, not in terms of immediate effects, but in the light of future possibilities. What does defective function portend? How may potential dire effects be nullified, mitigated, or overcome?

Health I have said is more than freedom from defect or disease. Jesse Feiring Williams defines health as "the quality of life that renders the individual fit to live most and serve best." It is from this sound standpoint that one must contemplate the health problems of childhood, even though there be a certain elusive character in the terms "live most and serve best." It presupposes an appreciation of the part each and every physiologic and anatomic system may play in the future development of circulation, respiration, or reproduction, but also in the life of the child as a whole.

Innumerable tabulations detail the degree to which children are handicapped. A manufacturer would spend millions to improve the machinery of his factory were it as faulty for his economic use as children are for their best service. He would shut down his plant to make repairs if he regarded his output jeopardized by the conduct of his dynamo, boiler, precipitation vats, or polishing tumblers. He knows what to expect from his machines, and how the whole factory may be cast into confusion by the weakness of any process of mechanical production. Fortunately, he can replace parts, attach improvements, or, as a last resource, introduce new or more modern instruments. Childhood, too, is dynamic, and with continuous action it is ever productive. The defect of any particular elements in physical structure demands recognition of its consequences upon the entire machinery of life, and therefore, upon the end products of its action.

Health, in its physical attributes, forms only part of life—and health as an end is valuable only as it is designed to promote wholeness of living. One of the curses of warfare is the destruction of those physically best fitted to live most and serve best, with the assured preservation of those least fitted to carry on the race. The entire campaign of the child conservationists, though every effort is commendable, is multiplying the difficulties of present and future generations. The salvaged infants, who formerly

## 18      The Challenge of Childhood

would have died, include a large number who are to tax the ingenuity of communities to make adequate provision for them at a later period. Inasmuch as the slogan, "Conserve childhood," has attained popularity, there is an inherent obligation of assuring childhood the fullest measure of opportunity for demonstrating its fitness for, in, and through living.

Does ascertaining physical defects cure them? Is the removal of tonsils the end of medical inspection? "Fixing up children"—is that the ultimate purpose? Why should tonsils be removed, crooked spines straightened, defective vision corrected, or malnutrition relieved? These things are done not merely to aid health, but to facilitate the growth and development of the entire child in its potential mental, moral, and spiritual phases. The aim is directed toward a richer opportunity to function on a more normal plane. Carious teeth are filled or extracted to improve character as well as to decrease the absorption of pus. Glasses are advised to promote poise, self-confidence, happiness, and rational behavior. Posture groups, nutrition classes, and cardiac clinics are designed to increase vitality and to inculcate habits that conduce to more effective living.

The treatment of the physical problems of childhood involves the whole child. Naturally one is obliged to consider specifically the parts that appear to be out of alignment and that threaten the harmony and the utility of the entire vital mechanism. The child possesses educational, vocational, social, and economic values which, whether they be latent or evident, require some guidance for their development. It is not a question of a cold-blooded calculation in dollars and cents of the potential economic worth of the child to society; nor is it a phantastic vision of the child as a future scientist, artist, statesman, or social reformer, whose contributions to human happiness and welfare will challenge his generation. It is, rather, a sane, balanced view of the child as an adult abstraction, perhaps capable of the highest achievements, perhaps destined to play but a humble rôle in world affairs. In either and in every case, the child should be strengthened, fortified, guided, and directed into a state of such complete

## Physical Problems—Introduction 19

harmonious function that he will realize his destiny, whatever that may be.

Viewed in this light, tonsils are not merely hypertrophied glands of unknown value, but impediments to maximum vitality, power, and activity, with far-reaching effects upon performance, conduct, service, and character. Constipation is not a mere mechanical slowing of the intestinal tract, but a source of poison imperilling mental progress, initiative, comfort, optimism, and contentment. And a damaged heart is not only a threat to actual existence, but the possible betrayer of ambition, a wrecker of hopes, the breeder of anxiety, and an inhibitor of a full life.

The inherited deficiencies and acquired handicaps of childhood are physical only in so far as they deal with the material body. It is impossible, however, to regard them as limited in their effect and influences on structure. Pathology involves structural alteration, and structural changes necessitate functional adaptations. The loss of a tip of a little finger may alter a life more seriously than the removal of an appendix. A flat foot may change a disposition as much as a disappointment. Deafness may devastate a soul as completely as the loss of faith in God.

Physical problems are thus seen to be closely bound up with personality; and they powerfully affect individuality. The multiplication of physical defects or disease states complicates particular situations. Their inter-relation and interaction demand consideration in the light of their separate and combined effects upon future well-being. The individual child still exists as more than the sum of his disease processes.

The achievement of complete health involves a positive rather than a negative idea. In building up childhood, one seizes upon the existent normal processes as the means of overcoming the pathologic state. Rehabilitation is more than an anatomic restoration. It includes functional reintegration, and education and training for a renewal of life's work with the greatest possible leverage. It makes use of residual and restored capacities as the basis of new activity and favorable accomplishment. The man is to be no less a man despite the lack of some of his anatomic possessions.

## 20      The Challenge of Childhood

The obvious relations between health and educability, health and vocation, health and comfort, happiness, economic freedom, and social effectiveness require no elaboration. Nor is it necessary to emphasize the accepted influences of physical well-being and psychic processes attending memory, association, or mental states—as elation, depression, optimism or pessimism, temerity or cowardice. Indeed, the reciprocal effects of all these elements of life upon health are sufficiently recognized in theory to warrant a larger degree of attention to them in the practical management of children.

In considering the problems of delinquency, care is essential lest too great importance be assigned to a definite physical dysfunction. In each individual the effect of physical defects requires evaluation. As far as possible, a reasonable causal relation should be apparent before jumping to conclusions as to the probable effect of a physical handicap upon behavior. Careful judgment is essential to evaluate the significance of defective function to behavior. The same type of physical difficulty may produce diametrically opposite effects, or dissimilar defects may result in identical reactions. One child shrieks with pain while another grits his teeth and is silent. A visual defect may induce a lack of interest in educational branches or impel a child to greater concentration and application. Flat feet or a nasal obstruction may cause easy fatigability. Chronic heart disease or constipation may result in sluggishness or irritability. Hence it is evident that the physical adjustments made to restore more normal function will have effects upon individual children varying with their personalities.

Practically everyone recognizes and urges the importance of removing enlarged diseased tonsils and adenoids because of the beneficial effects of the operation upon the general physical health. But it is difficult to state what will happen if such advice is disregarded; it depends upon too many variable factors. There might result rheumatism, chorea (St. Vitus' dance), endocarditis (heart disease), quinsy, or only fatigability. What effect might any of these conditions have upon children of sanguine or phlegmatic temperaments?

## Physical Problems—Introduction 21

It is valueless to note the proportion of dental, visual, aural, nasal, and other defects among delinquents unless comparison be made with the general rate of incidence of these conditions among all children—especially of the same age, sex, color, and economic group. There is too free a tendency to seize upon a physical fact as sufficient to account for all the difficulties of childhood, without regard to their correlation with the other elements of personality.

Physical handicaps truly motivate behavior, but not according to any general rules. Any deviation from the customary and accepted standards of physical appearance, structure, and function may be productive of good or bad results among children. The heavy, overgrown boy may become a miserable bully under the goading of his smaller schoolmates, or he may take advantage of his size and rush boldly from home to earn his own living after enjoying a period of adventure. An armless boy may become a beggar's pawn, exhibit himself at a circus, or he may train his toes to serve as fingers. The child with a diseased heart may take up quiet, useful trade education, or decide upon a short and merry life with all its connotations.

In physical make-up, "good" and "bad" children may be indistinguishable. But this does not mean that the physical organization or the deficiency of some part may not be responsible for changing a "good" child into a "bad" child. Nor does it mean that a child's "goodness" might not be restored to dominance by remedying the physical handicap.

As a matter of fact, the same physical defect may produce either "goodness" or "badness." Thus, a child with a crippled arm may be "good" because he thinks that he cannot fight, or he may become "bad" to compensate for his infirmity. The mechanism of the restoration to "goodness" is complicated because of the close interweaving of the physical organization with other elements of the child's personality. Hence, it is impossible to generalize as to the effects upon character of specific changes along physical lines.

It is my aim in this Division to present a few illustrations of the mode of solving some essentially physical problems. In the group of children discussed it will be apparent that the physical approach to life potentials is paramount.

## I—Olive

**O**LIVE was seven years old. She was stunted, fat, and flabby, and walked with a lumbering and awkward gait, because all her ligaments were so lax that her joints were too freely movable. Her hair was coarse and wiry, her eyes were obliquely set, her tongue was heavy and deeply furrowed, and she was unable to talk. Her abdomen was pendulous. She had first walked when two and a half years old. Six months later she had made a few meaningless sounds.

To the untrained eye of the layman Olive would have seemed more Chinese than white. But to the trained eye of the physician her Oriental cast of features did not indicate that she was in the slightest degree of Mongolian blood. Obliquely set eyes are an invariable physical accompaniment of a certain type of imbecility, which for this reason is called Mongolism. The mental status of the type is of low grade, varying from idiocy to a high degree of imbecility. The best hope for the Mongolian imbecile, best for the child itself, for the family, and for the community, is that it may die at an early age from some intercurrent disease. Fortunately, this usually happens, for diseases of the intestine or respiratory organs leave but few to grow to maturity.

The Mongolian imbecile is of no social value. It is a parasitic liability. But inasmuch as the unfortunate child is by no means responsible for its existence or its heavy handicap, it is entitled to every care that will enable it to develop to the maximum of its very limited potentials.

The cause of Mongolian imbecility is unknown. Neither late marriages, elderly parents, maternal dietary, nor parental intelligence seem to have anything to do with it. Mongolism is apparently a definite biological defect whose origin dates back to conception. There are rarely two Mongols in a family, though Mongol twins of the same sex have been reported, and the appearance of one Mongol in a



family does not give cause to fear that another will follow a later conception.

Olive had been a placid, too quiet baby. She had scarcely cried and had remained in whatever position she was placed. Her mother, whose fifth child she was, had regarded Olive as a "good baby," and considered her infancy a time of pleasure and relief from the more strenuous demands of her predecessors. The mother had not been disturbed, as she should have been, at the retardation in walking and talking. It was not until Olive had reached school age that her mother began to realize the seriousness of the child's inability to speak.

The most effective instrument of human beings is speech. If by the time a child is eighteen months old it cannot pronounce any words, the cause better be carefully sought. Retardation of speech may be due to disease—as rickets, scurvy, or enervating gastro-intestinal disturbances; to birth accidents—as hemorrhage on the left side of the brain; to pre-natal causes—as hydrocephalus (water on the brain), failure of cortical development, or a lack of secretions affecting the normal growth of the brain—as cretinism and possibly Mongolism. There is also the possibility of congenital or acquired deafness, which may lead to mutism. At times, difficulty in muscular control of the tongue, lips, or vocal cords interferes with speech but does not hamper the early development of sounds even though the articulation of words be impaired.

The educational system had no place for Olive, a speechless child, with low mental potentials. Had she been merely feeble-minded or mute, possibly a class could have been found for her. The problem presented by Olive, from the educational standpoint, was how to provide her with sufficient speech to enter an ungraded class.

Obviously, any attempt to teach her to speak was strictly limited by the physical and mental shortcomings resulting from her Mongolism. To overcome Mongolism itself would have been the logical approach to the speech problem had that not been impossible in the existing state of knowledge. Though its origin is unknown, it is believed that Mongolism results from a lack of some endocrine secretion; just which of the glands is responsible for the condition is

## 24 The Challenge of Childhood

not known. In my own practice I have found the use of the anterior lobe of the pituitary gland less useful than small doses of the thyroid gland. For Olive, because of her obesity, sluggishness, and generally negative traits, thyroid gland 1/10 grain, thrice daily, was used.

Within a fortnight the stimulation was evident in greater activity, more acuity in her responses to direction, and particularly in the noteworthy achievement of words.

Nevertheless, although the continuous use of the thyroid has brought about a transformation in her capacity for self-expression, the social outlook is not bright. She is prepared to receive her initial school experience, preferably in a Montessori group, but yet she is handicapped. For, unfortunately, in the United States the Montessori classes do not cater to the defectives for whom they were originally designed; they take in only young children of normal development, among whom Olive must be conspicuous by reason of her growing, unshapely, large body, as well as her mental limitations.

However, by the conscientious use of the thyroid, the problem of her speech has been solved, and Olive is now no longer shut off from communication with her mother, sisters, brothers, and other companions. As a secondary effect, her personality has expanded; she shows greater activity and friendliness, and has outlets for her latent instinctive tendencies. She has emerged from the vegetable to the animal world.

### 2—Emily

EMILY is a cretin, that is, she totally lacks the thyroid gland. An investigation of her educability revealed a definitely weak mental power, which explained the fact that she had not been accepted as a school pupil even in an ungraded class.

The characteristic evidence of cretinism is a lack of physical and mental development. The general appearance of the cretin is markedly abnormal, so that the detection of the condition becomes a simple matter before the first birthday has been reached. The head is large, flat, and squat upon a short, thick neck. The eyelids are heavy and the lips



are thick, while the enlarged tongue protrudes through the open mouth. The entire expression is one of dulness and inactivity. The teeth are slow to erupt and tend to decay quickly. At eighteen months, when the fontanelle (the "soft spot") should be closed, it is still open. The hands and feet are short, broad, and thick. The skin is dry, the hair coarse and sparse. The abdomen is distended, and usually presents an umbilical hernia. There is slowness in sitting up, learning to creep, stand, and walk. Speech is retarded for many years. If there be failure to recognize cretinism and there is no medication, the child at ten or twelve will be the functional equivalent of a normal child of two or three.

When Emily was brought to me, at the age of twelve, she did not present this unpleasant picture. Though her hair was coarse, her skin somewhat dry, and her muscles flabby, she was a gentle, smiling girl, four feet ten inches tall, weighing eighty-six pounds, that is, of nearly average height and weight. Fortunately for Emily, her cretinism had been diagnosed before she was eight months old, and since that time she had been taking thyroid extract. No transformation in medicine is more miraculous than that which follows upon the regular administration of the thyroid gland of sheep to children born without any of their own. A new development immediately begins, which results in a gradual approach toward normal appearance, development, and functioning. But complete normality is never attained, and parents should not be led to believe, by unguarded statements concerning the possible results of medication, that the child may become normal in time.

The social outlook for Emily is not hopeful. There will always be some mark of her limitation, though she may reach a state of usefulness and even of economic independence, because her cretinism was recognized at an early age and because she receives constant care and medication.

The mental development of the cretin depends entirely upon the benefits accruing from the thyroid taken. If the doses are stopped for only a short time, all the functions deteriorate markedly, and the mind becomes sluggish again. The value of education is lost unless physical progress is maintained. Mental capacity is definitely linked up with

## 26      The Challenge of Childhood

the chemistry of the body. And the extent to which mental ability may be developed depends upon the age at which the requisite treatment is begun, the adequate adjustment of the dosage to individual requirements, and its continued use throughout life.

Cretins result from a failure of development of the thyroid gland. But a considerable number of children suffer from physical and mental sluggishness and mild retardation because of some arrest of the thyroid function. Such hypothyroid children are benefitted materially by small amounts of thyroid gland administered carefully and under medical observation. In order to measure dosage properly and determine its physiologic effects, it is desirable to secure the information that is yielded by determining the basal metabolism; for the thyroid gland is an essential factor in establishing metabolic activity. This is a procedure that is not yet generally available even in large cities; however, it should be considered in making full provisions for the adjustment of children in their physical life.

In this connection it is but fair to caution parents against a too ready acceptance of much that has been written concerning the value of endocrine substances for the treatment of children. Enthusiasm is not a substitute for accuracy; panaceas fail to satisfy scientific precision. Neither exact clinical observations nor controlled laboratory experiments warrant the extravagant claims of those who would classify nations as hyperthyroid or hypothyroid, or who would solve all of the problems of ailing humans through the administration of thymus, pituitary, adrenal, gonadal, or other gland substance. It is probably true that each gland of internal secretion plays an important part in the evolution of the body, mind, and psyche, but what the part actually may be is concealed in an unscientific mixture of guess, conjecture, analogy, assumption, and prophecy. A reasonable skepticism will assist in differentiating truth from fiction, demonstrated fact from unsupported theory, and an obsessive endocrine determinism from a rational exposition of the scientific relations of the endocrine system to human functioning. And such conservatism is warranted because the tendency to depend upon gland substances and extracts in the treatment of children has exceeded all reason.

The most profound exhibition of the benefit of specific endocrine medication is found in the magical effects of thyroid extract in the treatment of cretinism. More is known about the thyroid gland than of any other single endocrine structure, but the complete significance of even the thyroid gland is undetermined.

### 3—Carmela

CARMELA, a six year old Italian girl, the youngest of fifteen children, was brought to me to cure her of enuresis (bed-wetting) and thumb-sucking. She was of normal height and weight. In fact, the only striking features revealed in physical examination were an exaggeration of her deep reflexes, and a moderate lateral curvature of the spine. Her tonsils and adenoids had been removed when she was three and a half years old.

A lack of control over the bladder is one of the most common incidents of childhood. But if properly trained, children gain power over urination between the ages of eighteen months and two years. It usually takes a child longer to achieve control over the bladder at night than during the waking hours. And in some cases the ability to pass through the night without urination is not acquired until the fourth year.

Enuresis should not be considered as an entity, but rather should be thought of as a symptom attributable to a large variety of causes. I regard the basic element as of nervous and psychic origin. The dominant factor may be peripheral, spinal, or cerebral in character. It is not improbable that several influences may co-exist in each of the domains. The peripheral and spinal causative factors probably are of minor consequence, in view of the frequency of enuresis during childhood.

There is reason to believe that much of the treatment instituted for the relief of causes acting peripherally are effectual only by action upon the higher psychic centers, which accounts for the variety of therapeutic agencies that have been credited with success. There has been a tremendous wastage of drugs in the treatment of enuresis. Certainly there is no similarity in the action of atropin,

## 28 The Challenge of Childhood

ergot, a cold spinal douche, the passage of a sound, or electrical treatments, save in the psychic realm. There is further support of the theory that drugs are not necessary in 90-95% of cases in the fact that enuresis tends to disappear spontaneously in time. Even resistant and protracted enuretics gain control in the early pubertal years. Enuresis after puberty is of rare occurrence unless there is continuous organic cause, such as spina bifida, diabetes, or Potts disease (tuberculosis of spine).

Dismissing for the present all other contributing elements, let me stress the psychology of habit formation in its relation to functional enuresis. At birth, urination is a reflex action, dependent upon an inherited neuron pattern. The unopposed impulse to urinate is dominant. Training of the bladder should begin soon after birth by holding the infant over a vessel. By patient practice a conditioned reflex action is developed. Later on, this conditioned reflex comes under a further influence, and an acquired neuron pattern results in which volition pays a definite part.

Automatic habits, such as walking, first must be conscious before they are relegated to lower nerve centers. Urination is taken out of the realm of automatic habits at an early age, and for the most part comes under the control of the higher psychic conscious habits. That the element of conditioned reflex exists throughout life is patent from the desire to urinate that ensues upon hearing running water. The power of the automatic reflex is exhibited in many ways—when the direction of the mind is weakened, as in sudden frights and shocks; and to a lessened degree when frequent urination is imperative during worry, as over examinations, military service, etc.

The formation of the majority of useful habits requires conscious effort. In the management of enuresis it is patent that the most powerful impressions can be made during the waking hours. Hence enuresis diurna (day wetting) is less frequent than enuresis nocturna (night wetting). When the two exist, the suggestions made for the relief of the day condition carry over for the night by the definite improvement of the neuron pattern. When, however, only enuresis nocturna remains, the growth of control implies that the suggestion effects a tightening up of the

subconscious control on the motor side. A more intensive motivation to self-control is gained through instilling the desire to be big, strong, and healthy, or to show power and manliness, or to attain some pleasurable end.

The development of control over urination is well illustrated in the instinctive reflex act of the puppy, the definite relief of bladder in time and place of older dogs, and the whining of the house-broken family pet, desirous of living in accord with the social habits of his masters. Some animals are more difficult to train in this direction than others, and this holds true for children, as well.

The control of the higher cerebral centers is not acquired at a definite rate of speed. One child learns to walk earlier than another, or to talk later, or to gain control of the bladder or bowels at a still later period of life. When there is delay in securing conscious cerebral control, there is naturally a persistence of the infantile tendency to activate the bladder functions on the spinal level. It is apparent that there is a great difference between vesical control during the day and during the night. As a rule children acquiring conscious control over the bladder may be dry during their waking hours for a considerable length of time before they gain the necessary power during sleep, when cerebral domination is lessened.

Mentally defective children are lacking in their higher cerebral processes, and the formation of useful social habits is attended with difficulty. Hence there is a higher frequency of enuresis among the mentally deficient than among average children. But enuresis itself is not an index of weak mental powers. It is exceedingly frequent among highly intelligent children, and even more prevalent among children with that highly nervous organization which, for lack of better understanding, we term neurotic. The very bright, alert, impulsive, quick-actioned type, or the dreamy, self-conscious, sensitive, shy, capable type provide a large proportion of the children whose enuresis disturbs the home.

Whether stupid, dull, average, bright, or precocious, the habits of conscious control over the bladder may be developed or strengthened by particular appeals. Recognizing that children depend upon visual and aural perceptions for most of their acquired habits involving motor activity,

## 30 The Challenge of Childhood

it appears rational to establish a motivation in these terms. I advise no special directions, excepting the admonition to mothers to cease blaming or punishing their children, for bed-wetting is not a conscious and wilful performance save in a few instances when revenge or fear are motivating factors. Rare, indeed, is the child who enjoys enuresis, and few are there who reveal its existence as part of a pleasurable or frightful dream. There are those who fear to get up in the darkness of the night, or who dislike exposure to cold and therefore do not exert great resistance to urination. There are others who in deep sleep fail to be aroused, or who manage to awaken just in the act of urination. In almost all cases the bed-wetting causes a sense of shame and a sensitiveness to criticism. The terms of disparagement visited upon the victim only tend to increase his fears and to weaken his confidence in the possibility of self-control.

I have tried out a single form of appeal in which the complete responsibility for the control of the habit is placed upon the child. No direct appeal to pride is made, nor is there promise of reward. The complete procedure consists of an initial suggestion, reinforced weekly, and supplemented by daily auto-suggestion based upon the use of a simple device.

At first the child is interrogated in such a manner as to bring out the admission of a desire to overcome the habit, followed by an expression of willingness to try to correct it. This accepted, the suggestive factor is placed in tangible form so as to strengthen the possible auto-suggestive factors. In private practice I have used many schemes, for obviously the same device does not serve equally well for all children any more than the same medicament proves universally valuable. But for simplicity and uniformity in dispensary practice, I employ the device of a chart upon which a gold star is placed for each dry night or day, and a red or blue star for each wet night or day. These charts are kept by the children and brought to me each week so that progress may be noted. Upon the return visits, a word or two of encouragement is given, together with a suggestion of confidence in the early conquest of the habit, and the child is



brought to express a willingness to make greater effort during the following week.

This simple technic is employed in all instances except when the enuresis is accompanied by thumb-sucking, as in the case of Carmela, or by nail-biting. Children with these combined habits receive no charts. Nor is any emphasis placed upon the enuresis save to suggest that assuredly the control of the habit of nail-biting or thumb-sucking will result in the cessation of bed-wetting. The suggestions for the control of the more tangible habit suffice to bring about the release from the enuresis. Gain in volitional power over one habit seems adequate to strengthen the control of other habits having the appearance of similar causation in lack of psychic direction.

Thus the appeal becomes concrete and tangible rather than an abstract moral plea for conscious direction by the higher centers that regulate human activity. Children can work with concrete material in this habit-forming sphere just as satisfactorily as in other realms of habit formation, through education by means of plays and games.

Certainly the experience in treating nail-biting or thumb-sucking with accompanying enuresis is a further corroboration of the value of a psychologic approach. In both of these types the element of self-control is lacking. The power of inhibition requires upbuilding. In the organic integration of the body there are constant evidences of transfers of power, and self-control is effective in more directions than the single one utilized to develop or strengthen it. There is a sort of overflow of directive energy for the inhibition of habits having a common factor of nervous instability. The influence of the suggestive and auto-suggestive elements is apparent in these combined habits in which all emphasis is placed upon the tangible, visible finger or thumb. It is obvious that there is a double motivation for the mastery of the digital habits in that it is suggested that the enuresis will stop when the fingers are no longer abused in the mouth. Be it noted that there is no suggestion of masturbation in the child's action, nor any attempt to use psychoanalysis in curing the habit, but merely a definite suggestion for self-conquest with the acceptance of the idea by the children. Nor is there a chart

## 32 The Challenge of Childhood

used to supply the concrete, tangible suggestion or to serve as an index of progress, because the growing nails and the appearance of the thumb supply all the information that is required.

This method will not aid the child with spina bifida occulta, myelitis (inflammation of the spinal cord), or new growths. It has its limitations in a variety of disease conditions, singly or combined. But for the otherwise normal child it appears to be a more rational approach to the enuresis problem than the immediate recourse to drugs, instrumentation, or electricity.

### 4—Clara

CLARA, a little girl of seven, pale and wan and somewhat under weight, was brought to me by her parents. They said she was suffering from a marked speech defect.

Clara's history revealed a normal birth after a normal pregnancy of the mother. There were no indications of birth injuries, and there had been no interference with her early development. She had had only a few contagious diseases and all of them had been mild in character and free from convulsive attacks.

The problem presented by Clara's case seemed to boil down to a discovery of the possible cause of her speech defect. It might be due to impaired hearing, to defective breathing, mental deficiency, lack of control of the muscles of articulation, or to some cranial injury affecting the cortical centers governing her hearing, articulation, or the associational tracts between them.

Examining for each of these in turn, I found that Clara could hear without difficulty, that there was no lack of regularity or of depth of breathing, that she was doing satisfactory school work and gave no evidence whatever of feeble-mindedness.

As the precise nature of her defect was her difficulty with such sounds as those of f, v, th, l, m, and n, and as this group of sounds calls for an excellent control of the lips and tongue, it seemed that her main problem was of a purely muscular character. In such cases as this appeared to be, exercises for tongue and lips with vowel and con-



sonant sounds, extending over a comparatively short period, will usually bring about a complete restoration of the muscular coördination and result in normal speech.

Thus, had I accepted Clara's problem as presented by her parents, it would have been very simple indeed. But, regardless of the nature of any problem, it is always essential to give each child a complete physical examination.

When this was done with Clara the whole nature of her problem changed and took on a much graver aspect. The speech defect for which she had been brought to me was immediately relegated to a very subordinate place as a factor in her general welfare. Examination revealed that Clara had a marked systolic murmur of the heart at its apex. The apex beat was more than an inch outside the nipple line; the cardiac murmur was heard, strong and vigorous, in the axilla and under the shoulder blade. There was also a pulmonary murmur, systolic in time. Her pulse beat was 84. Her tonsils, though of moderate size, were markedly diseased, as might have been expected from a history of recurrent attacks of tonsillitis. With the tremendous enlargement of the left ventricle of the heart, and a thickening of its walls, there had proceeded a deterioration which was leading to an impairment of the circulation sufficient to cause her liver to have become enlarged by the width of three fingers. Clara was facing an approaching failure of the muscular power of the heart.

In view of the magnitude of her problem as a child with cardiac disease, Clara's speech defect was inconsequential. Yet her parents had had no inkling of this condition so fraught with danger to the entire life and welfare of their child. All they had known was that upon two occasions, during attacks of tonsillitis, her heart had been somewhat rapid in its action.

Patients with cardiac disorders are generally classed in five groups:

CLASS I. Patients with organic heart disease who are able to carry on their habitual physical activity.

CLASS II. Patients with organic heart disease who are able to carry on diminished physical activity: (a) slightly decreased; (b) greatly decreased.

## 34 The Challenge of Childhood

CLASS III. Patients with organic heart disease who are unable to carry on any physical activity.

CLASS IV. Patients with possible heart disease. Patients who have abnormal physical signs in the heart, but in whom the general picture, or the character of the physical signs, indicates that they do not originate from cardiac disease.

CLASS V. Patients with potential heart disease. Patients who do not have any suggestion of cardiac disease, but who are suffering from an infectious condition which may be accompanied by such disease, e. g., rheumatic fever, tonsillitis, chorea, syphilis, etc.

There is a large variety of preventive measures which are adaptable for the care of children belonging to any one of these types, but especially valuable are the procedures that may be employed in the management of patients with potential heart disease, and with possible heart disease. If, for example, when Clara had her first attacks of tonsillitis the tonsils had been removed, the heart might have been spared. Or, if at times when her heart was said to be slightly rapid there had been proper rest in bed for a sufficient period of time the damage to the heart might have been less severe. Or, if when the heart disease appeared it had been discovered, the parents might have made adequate provision in their method of living to lessen the amount of strain upon the heart.

The interrelation of rheumatism, tonsillitis, heart disease, and chorea is not thoroughly clear. Sufficient is known, however, to indicate that they possess, in common, some causative factor. Tonsillitis may be followed by cardiac disease, or chorea, or both. Rheumatism may be followed by chorea or heart disease. This does not mean that all cases of chorea are rheumatic in origin, or that all forms of cardiac disease are dependent upon tonsillar infection. There is sufficient interrelation, however, to require the careful examination of a child for all of these conditions when any one of them appears.

Chorea is not a single disease; it is of many types. The main form in children is St. Vitus' dance. The motor unrest, with irregular twitchings of single muscles or groups of them, interferes with many elements in personality. The finer muscles are uncontrolled, and the child drops or spills things, writes poorly and jerkily, and even speaks in an interrupted, uncertain manner. The muscles of the lips

and the eyes have coarse, irregular movements, which lead to unpleasant grimacing. This becomes more disturbing when large muscle groups become involved in the shoulders, arms, and legs. General fatigue ensues, and exhaustion becomes another unpleasant factor.

Chorea, whether of infectious, rheumatic, psychogenetic, or residual origin, calls for intelligent treatment with rest, fresh air, and medication. But in addition there is need for definite exercises in physical control. Self-confidence must be restored through re-education because, even after the cause of the twitching and spasms has been removed, they are apt to continue as habits. Indeed, the prolongation of chorea frequently consists of a true habit spasm which must be overcome by securing muscular relaxation.

It is evident that children with recurring tonsillitis might better sacrifice their tonsils than risk cardiac impairment. It is equally evident that children with acute or recurrent heart affection should be kept at rest for long periods of time, either at home, in hospital, or in convalescent home. Rest lessens the degree of damage to the heart muscle and promotes the more effective muscular adjustment required to offset the injury to the heart valves. Only by such measures can the functional qualities of the heart be preserved so as to insure the highest degree of work tolerance.

But programs for caring for children with heart disease are inadequate; what we need are improved facilities for observing children with a view to preventing it.

Needless to say, Clara, whose speech defect served her well by leading to the discovery of her cardiac impairment, demands a large measure of adjustment to protect her against a complete breaking-down of her circulation. In order to lessen the likelihood of additional damage from tonsillitis, her tonsils should be removed. For a considerable period of time she should receive convalescent care to permit her enlarged heart to return to more normal proportions. Constant medical guidance is essential. The family, now living on the third floor of a walk-up apartment, should appreciate the hazards in stair climbing. Clara after due rest should be placed under special supervision at a public school making special provision for cardiac children—the segregated cardiac class is unnecessary and undesirable. A

## 36 The Challenge of Childhood

child whose cardiac weakness would suggest the need of segregation should be at home, in a hospital or convalescent home, and not in a school. The beginnings, therefore, of Clara's life adjustments are to be found in the present necessity of caring for the damaged heart, the improvement of which is of far greater importance at the present time than book learning. There is need for abundant supervision of her physical training. At a later period serious consideration will be necessary for vocational training because her education will require adjustment on the basis of her ability to function freely to the extent permitted by the state of her heart at that age.

There are important lessons to be derived from Clara's history.

Regardless of the complaint, of the child's alleged condition, or of the symptoms described, a complete physical examination is always desirable. Too frequently a child is examined to ascertain the cause of a single symptom—as mouth breathing, a cough, a limp, or poor posture—and as a result of looking for specific things the question of the complete functioning of the child is overlooked, and glaring defects and handicaps of serious import are not noted.

When the preventive phases of child welfare are more thoroughly appreciated, the physical examination will lead to a differentiated health service which will be able to stress the prevention of malnutrition, diphtheria, heart disease, posture defects, and handicaps in vision and hearing. The whole child will become the subject of the inquiry rather than the investigation of particular disease states. The treatment will be based upon the desire to foster the maximum vitality and functional usefulness. Thus there will come to be emphasized not merely annual physical examinations of children, but to some degree the continuous oversight of potential infirmities until the child is assured of physical safety. The child, rather than his disease, thus becomes the object of solicitude. This represents a transfer of emphasis from the mere cure of the ailments of children to positive constructive factors in child health work. It will require a considerable readjustment of hospital and dispensary work, and the inauguration of departments for the prevention of disease as part of the official service of

dispensaries. Fortunately, this point of view is gaining in favor, and more physicians are now alive to the importance of this phase of medicine than even before.

Another lesson to be derived from Clara's case is the importance of the correction of impairments in speech.

Man is essentially a social animal. His speech is probably his most important social asset and activity. Its fullest development is essential for the finest evolution of human personality. Therefore, since speech defects represent hampering abnormalities, speech correction is not merely an incident of the educational routine, but an essential measure for the full realization of a child's life potentials.

Over 500,000, or slightly less than three per cent, of all the children in American schools have some speech defect. This number is in excess of the blind and deaf in our population, and fully equal to the number of mentally defective and insane children. In general, the ratio of boys to girls possessing some speech defect is as three to one. A majority of these children have speech defects in combination or in association with defects of vision or hearing, with a lack of muscular coördination, or with cerebral maldevelopments.

At least 200,000 of the speech defectives in American schools are stutterers. Some defects, such as lisping, are known to decrease as school life progresses, but stuttering increases while children are attending school. Speech defectives, and particularly stutterers, are likely to be backward in their class work, although there are many who maintain excellent positions as measured by ordinary scholastic standards. The limitation of the stutterer is marked not so much in his powers of acquisition and appreciation, as in his ability to give verbal expression to his thoughts. His mental powers may be normal, even of a high order, but his opportunities for making them evident are hampered by his explosive utterance. Frequently he may be regarded as stupid or dull when he is suffering from self-consciousness, sensitiveness, and anxiety due to his affliction. He is, thus, deprived of his fullest opportunities for education and self-expression. Particularly is this

## 38 The Challenge of Childhood

so if he happens to be one of those unfortunates who are actually willing to be deemed dull and backward rather than suffer through reciting, for, under ordinary circumstances, the very act of recitation increases and tends to protract the disability.

It is probable that fifty per cent of the stuttering among children in the United States could be prevented by adequate provision for improved methods of school instruction. A large proportion of stutterers are curable. But even when no cure is possible, the attempt to improve speech may lead to the timely detection of some organic disorder of the brain and, thus, to the prevention of serious mental aberrations. Speech improvement in schools serves to prevent what Fletcher of Clarke University referred to as "the leakage of energy" of both teacher and class which ensues during the attempted recitation of a stutterer. Systematic speech improvement classes save the time of the teacher and the class. They promote more rapid progress and secure more concentrated attention upon the subject matter being taught, by preventing the diversion of attention to the peculiarities of the child reciting. To this extent they are even productive of monetary saving in the cost of teaching, though mathematically this would be hard to estimate.

Studies in speech correction indicate numerous instances in which stuttering has been induced by the attempt to make naturally left-handed children right-handed. Thus, the stupid attempt to secure conformity to expedite class progress may result in afflicting a child with a speech defect actually more detrimental to the individual child and to the class than the original sinistrality.

Not only social values, but also economic values are involved in speech correction. The child who attains maturity with a habit of fluent, unimpaired speech is obviously of more value to himself and to the community, other things being equal, than the child who grows up with some speech impediment. It is, however, almost impossible to establish with any mathematical precision the cost of speech defects. The total number of persons afflicted in this country cannot be determined, as no data are available.

The economic liability of speech defects varies with age.



Obviously, it is not so great in a child of five as in a man of twenty. Similarly, it is evident that the cure is more practicable at the earlier age, before habits are fixed, and before self-consciousness has been increased by fear. Furthermore, the cost to the community of the prevention of speech defects would be offset by the saving on expenditures for the later correction of stammering, stuttering, and lisping.

We cannot consider speech defects as isolated phenomena, because there are numerous speech defectives who are also suffering from some organic or functional derangement which further decreases their economic value. Speech defects among the deaf and feeble-minded, for instance, constitute only a portion of their potential weakness, and therefore can be considered only as a part of the general disability lessening their economic worth.

The various types of speech defects that are dependent upon malformations—such as harelip, tongue tie, cleft palate, hypertrophied tonsils and adenoids, and dental deformities—reveal an economic loss which must include the cost of operations, nursing care, and hospital treatment. Unfortunately permanent defects may result even after medical and surgical aid have been accorded, but under these circumstances the potentialities of the sufferers are less circumscribed than before, and their activities in occupations may be encouraged to a greater extent than was previously possible.

The social and economic importance of speech defects is dependent upon the relative importance of such causative conditions as feeble-mindedness, deafness, and neuropathic manifestations. Chorea, epilepsy, contagious diseases (as scarlet fever and diphtheria) accidents, and neuroses are factors of greater consequence than the speech disorders they may induce or influence.

Assuming that estimates by Van Sickle, Witmer, and Ayres are correct, and that four per cent of our public school children are feeble-minded, it would mean that there are 800,000 feeble-minded children in the United States, although it must be appreciated that of this number 100,000 are genuinely mentally deficient and should be treated in institutions instead of in public schools. If, then, investigation should show that the six per cent figure which ob-

## 40 The Challenge of Childhood

tains in Germany is applicable in the United States, there would be in this country 48,000 defective children with speech defects.

The economic cost of speech defects is registered in the limited number of occupations that are available for individuals who have speech deficiencies. Few employers desire deaf mutes, and their individual situation is most difficult. Wherever feeble-mindedness is the basic condition, the occupation is naturally limited by the scale of intelligence to which the individual can rise. Recognizing the industrial limitations of those suffering from speech defects, and appreciating the obstacles to professional life, their undesirability as teachers, their handicaps as physicians, their limitations as pleading lawyers, and their impossibility as preachers, it should be natural to preserve or secure their potential utility by restoring to them a normal speech function.

Another social gain is to be secured through the prevention of industrial accidents. The relations of speech defects to industrial accidents has been hinted at in factory, mine, and shop reports. Emergencies arise in industry that call for quick utterance. If at such a time a stutterer is in the responsible position the lives of his fellow-workers may be placed in jeopardy.

The effects of speech defects upon the development of a high moral character, and the discouragement, anxiety, embarrassment, diffidence, and shyness occasioned by them cannot be estimated. It has been noted that speech defects are of more frequent occurrence among delinquents than in the general population, though this may be due in part to the fact that there is a great proportion of mental defectives among apprehended delinquents, whose speech defects are merely coincidental. But if speech correction can prevent *any* children from moral degeneration its usefulness is enhanced and its general adoption would seem imperative.

The precise relation of speech defects to delinquency has not been determined. But it is probably true that speech defects, if related to mental abnormality, play some part



in the problems of delinquency. It is apparent that self-expression through speech is a most important factor to enable the mental defective to become a social asset. It is doubtful if the cost of securing this result can be estimated. It would be unfair to guess at an allowance out of the computed costs of educating the feeble-minded.

The development of normal speech must be facilitated through personal analysis of the underlying causes of the speech deficiency. It is vitally important, both for the benefit of the individual child with a speech defect and for the other children of the class, that special teachers for stutterers, stammerers, and lispers should be maintained with a view to developing normal speech.

The work of speech correction, now scarcely begun, must make tremendous gains during the next few years. The monetary expense is negligible in view of the possible gains to society. School systems should recognize that it is part of their function to develop to the full the latent possibilities of school children. This is impossible while we are neglecting a single type of those handicapped in learning. In the education of mental defectives, society can scarcely be repaid for the cost of education because so much of it is now spent upon those who will never be able to make economic returns. In the case of speech defectives, however, particularly in the case of stutterers and lispers, this condition is reversed. The improvement of speech defectives enhances both their economic and social value. The plea should now be for more speech, for better speech, for the prevention of speech defects, and for adequate facilities and plans to achieve these ends.

The physical and psychic factors productive of speech deficiencies are not to be ignored. The highest standards of physical development are not obtained while defective control of ideation and muscular incoördination are disregarded. Nor is speech correction to be isolated from all other preventive and corrective measures in child training. While educational methods have been stressed for preventing and correcting speech defects, the mode of operation is mainly through the physical organization of the child and the inculcation of correct muscular and nervous habits.

## 42      The Challenge of Childhood

### 5—Sascha

SASCHA was a Russian boy, seven years and nine months old, four feet, one and one-half inches tall, and weighing forty-three pounds. He was thin, sunken-chested, apathetic, and given to attacks of vomiting. He had a poor appetite, was restless in sleep, had night sweats and occasional coughing spells. There were enlarged glands of the neck and at the bend of the elbow. Pus exuded from the left nostril. There was a marked curvature of the spine, giving a somewhat hunchbacked posture. The heart sounds were all of fair quality, but there was a loud murmur at the apex of the heart and at its base. His blood was decidedly anemic. The upper and lower bicuspid teeth were missing, and several teeth evidenced marked caries. Occasional rales were heard over the chest. The power of expansion was one and one-half inches. He did not smile, and spoke in low, hesitating tones.

Sascha's father desired the boy to be placed in an institution, as he appeared to be mentally weak; he was doing poor work in the third grade, and had spent two terms in the first. The report of a neurologist, who had not given Sascha a mental test, stated, "mentally deficient—a high-grade type—could be allowed with other children."

As the boy was in his proper school class for his age, and had only repeated the 1A grade, it seemed unwise to accept the statement of mental deficiency in the face of his marked disabilities. The physical status does not alter the mental potentials, but it does partly determine the use that is made of them. The frail, enervated body, which is easily fatigued, does not exert itself muscularly or cerebrally. Nature's efforts at self-protection may cause the child to be considered of far lower potentials than is the fact. Similarly, an aggressive, vigorous youth, by his activity, may give the impression of higher mental capacity than his actual endowment. To depend upon mere vision and hearing for the diagnosis of intellectual status is unsafe and unsound. Intelligence grade is not highly correlated with personal appearance, posture, or indeed physical defects, and so, personal judgment upon the mental caliber of individuals is risky when no actual test has been made. Of course

19067

there are occasions when quick judgments must be based upon the facial expression and physical attitudes. Few errors are likely to be made in distinguishing mental keenness from sheer stupidity; but a single time of meeting is scarcely a safe criterion of an individual's intelligence. Stolidity, bashfulness, shame, or fear will often account for seeming dulness. In no instance is it possible to determine by physiognomy the brain power in terms of relative values.

In Sascha's case, the primary step involved the determination of the presence or absence of organic or infectious diseases of a chronic type. It became necessary to consider tuberculosis, syphilis, and endocarditis. An X-ray of the lungs demonstrated no tuberculosis or other lesions; the Wasserman test was negative. The heart murmur was heard mainly over the cardiac area, though there was a slight transmission of the apical murmur under the arm. A cardiogram revealed no unusual condition of muscular nature. Hence I was compelled to regard Sascha's condition as due to general malnutritional variation. The sweating, restlessness, heart murmur, poor appetite, apathy, apparent slowness in thought and action were as truly symptoms of undernutrition as was the marked secondary anemia. Institutionalizing this boy for weak mentality would have fallen short of theoretic and practical soundness.

Obviously the treatment in Sascha's case had to be selected and directed to overcome the damage already done, and to build up new tissues and stimulate a greater vitality. To emphasize posture and the part it plays in developing lungs is not warranted when the body is too weak to permit the muscles to maintain erect position over a continuous period of time. In refashioning the undernourished, food is the paramount issue. But it is insufficient to advise that the diet be increased; the poor appetite must be tempted, and the home must be known to possess the necessary foods, the money to procure them regularly, as well as a working knowledge of how to prepare them according to the specific needs of the individual child.

Recognizing Sascha's impaired dentition, it appeared desirable to suggest a type of dietary that would require only a limited amount of mastication. A high protein and fat diet was prescribed, and home instruction was under-

## 44 The Challenge of Childhood

taken that the prescription might be filled adequately. In addition to a variety of green vegetables supplementing the vitamins in milk, cod liver oil was added to the food scheme. Not an emulsion, but the purest oil procurable was advised, and taken with avidity. As a preliminary to the feeding program, the coöperation of the lad was elicited easily by assuring him that if he did as he was told he would soon be as vigorous as other boys of his own age. All attention was diverted from heart, lungs, blood, and brain, and given to the developing of real appetite, good digestion, and assimilation. To help in this direction, dental decay was removed, and temporary fillings were placed where needed.

Posture was not neglected, but there was no reference to correct methods of standing or sitting until a measure of physical strength returned. In the interval, he was given breathing exercises to expand his lungs and lift his chest through raising the ribs. The favorite device was the blowing of water from one gallon bottle into another, at which he competed with himself daily to note in how few breaths this could be accomplished. Similarly, he was taught to take deep inspirations while rolling his shoulders upward and backward. Both of these exercises had more of an influence upon posture than could have been secured by the constant admonition at home and at school to "stand with chin in, shoulders back, and abdomen drawn in."

As soon as it was deemed *safe*, it was made possible for Sascha to enter a posture class and gain the benefit of intelligent supervision. Group activity in corrective exercises is far more beneficial than individual instruction; it is positive, constructive, impersonal, and readily accepted. The lessons are strengthened by the social group participating, and direct and indirect suggestion arises from the guidance of the class leader.

Advising fresh air without stopping to inquire if it can be obtained is a futile and too common practice. Natural air in the home is determined in the main by the economic, educational, traditional, and social background of the family. Therefore, where possible, it is preferable to stress the fresh air factor in relation to the school. Hence Sascha was given the benefit of a fresh air class in a public school at which he also received supplemental nourishment.

It is evident that the physical approach to Sascha's problem involved the careful coöperation of dietitian, dentist, doctor, follow-up nurse, home, school, and corrective gymnastic class. The purpose of it all was to establish health habits. • Mere knowledge of hygiene is not equivalent to its employment. Repeated admonitions to eat thus, walk so, sleep under these conditions, and don't do this, that, and the other, are wasteful of time and energy. The most effective health habits are built up by training, as opposed to formal education. I believe that the essentials involved in health habits are a sense of regularity, voluntary obedience, self-control, concepts of consideration and coöperation, and an interest in industry as reflected in work, study, and play. These are practical objectives in education, and involve a proper coördination of conscious and subconscious life. Without willingness to observe laws of health, knowledge of them is without result. Motivation of hygiene is essential, and it matters little whether the fundamental appeal is made to pride in appearance, desire for strength and recognition, or to the ambition to achieve success in life. The real attitude toward hygiene is reflected in the common method of living rather than in the classroom. What counts is not that which is done for the teacher, but that which is done for self.

At the end of a year, when Sascha was in the fourth grade, he was given the Terman modification of the Binet tests, and was found to have a normal, average cerebral endowment, with an Intelligence Quotient of 97. At this time his school work was of good average type, and there were no recorded deficiencies in any subject. He was reasonably alert, friendly, coöperative, and self-expansive.

In three and one-half years he had gained nine inches in height and thirty-seven pounds in weight. His blood had become normal. The expansion of the lungs had increased to three and one-half inches. The cardiac murmur had disappeared. School progress proceeded as expected, and normal mental power was reflected in cheerfulness, coöperation, power in drawing, basketry, modelling, etc.

Sascha's growth and development began with his desire to improve, and thus to escape an institution. Its continuance was based upon his voluntary acceptance of guidance,

## 46 The Challenge of Childhood

and the free adoption of a healthful regimen. His health habits were gained through a striving for his chosen goal, and his determination to achieve it through regularity, voluntary obedience, self-control, coöperation, and industry. Without these, advice would have been useless and his method of living could not have been changed so as to build up his character along physical, mental, and moral lines.

### 6—Harriet

**H**ARRIET, a twelve year old girl, was so thin and frail that she seemed all bones. She was twenty pounds under weight for her height and age. But she was cheerful, active, and enthusiastic, despite the evidence of what is termed "severe malnutrition."

She was susceptible to nasal and bronchial infections, she fatigued easily, and she was rather irritable and disinclined to concentrate on her school work. There was a moderate degree of anemia, a slight pronation of the feet, and a heart murmur—all of which symptoms were understandable in the light of her lack of tissue development.

A study of the daily amounts of food eaten over a period of four days revealed that her intake was below the caloric requirements for her age and physical development, with an inadequate amount of the protein and mineral elements.

There was no actual physical disability or digestive disturbance. She was fully able to eat and digest foods of all descriptions. Her home table was laden with good food. But Harriet did not want to grow fat, and so she had become the victim of self-induced famine. Breakfast she wilfully reduced to a minimum or altogether omitted, and whim alone dictated the selection of what little she ate. If she was persuaded to partake of foods she disliked, or of quantities beyond her personal desire, an attack of nausea, and sometimes of vomiting, usually followed.

For years Harriet's capricious appetite had dominated the dining room. There had been special catering to her dietetic fancies, cajoling, bribing, over-stressing of the importance of eating and the desire of her parents that she gain weight. It had all been to no avail. The responsi-



bility for insufficient nourishment was her own. She was starving herself in the midst of plenty.

But, as a contributory factor, her earlier training in habits of eating must not be overlooked. In earlier years her parents had permitted her to form capricious eating habits which later were to make it possible for her diet to hamper her nutrition.

The essential element in overcoming this psychogenic type of under-nourishment lies in creating a desire for improvement and an active interest in increased eating for self-satisfaction and comfort rather than to please others. This obtains for very young children, though with them a true starvation treatment may be requisite to establish the compelling appetite. Children do not starve themselves to death; the real difficulty lies in making parents believe this, and in securing the firmness essential for a successful starvation treatment. Older children can secure their own food, so this method of deprivation is ineffectual. But they can be taught the relation of the food supply to the growth of muscles and the development of energy. They can be made to grasp the significance of feeling well, of escaping fatigue, of being physically fit for greater opportunities in recreation, and the value of preparing for the larger life in accordance with their desires and ambitions.

Improving their health must have a measure of attractiveness. It should not be a rigorous régime involving all the unpleasant elements of hygiene, intensified by an insistence upon only such foods as are distasteful, or "easily digested." They may be allowed wide latitude in the selection of foods. A liberal diet and a generous policy are more seductive than unbreakable regulations and a closed food list. Milk need not be crowded in as a beverage when it may be accepted as soup, cocoa, custard, junket, or in other forms. Candy need not be denied, nor should all their preferred pastries be placed upon the forbidden list. Gradually they may even be induced to try some food they have previously refused.

As a result of such a new course of procedure, which centered in herself as an end, Harriet's whims were undermined, and within six months the youngster had gained more than the twenty pounds necessary to attain the aver-

## 48 The Challenge of Childhood

age for her height and age. She took pride in the accomplishment, and virtually took the credit for her own physical redemption. She was wholly correct. She had won for and through herself. She had conquered herself and had banished her obsession for thinness. She had overcome her dietetic whims, and had led herself out of a state of irritable, devitalizing undernutrition into an abundance of health, vigor, stability, joyousness, and happiness. She had cured herself of malnutrition.

What is malnutrition? Hogarth defines malnutrition as an "abnormal or disordered growth in the development of the tissues of a child's body, not necessarily synonymous with underfeeding." This definition is not wholly accurate, as it applies in a general way to the state of being of any child whose condition departs from the normal. For of course overcrowding, low wages, under-employment, alcoholism, poor hygiene, ignorance of food values and of correct methods of food preparation, congenital defects, acquired handicaps, and disease states are all factors in determining the growth and development of tissues.

Newmayer suggests that malnutrition may be suspected when a child is pale and too weak to work and study properly. He mentions among the causes: poverty, late hours with loss of sleep, work after school hours, sleeping in unventilated rooms, and ignorance of the right kinds of food. Dresslar is more definite in his statement, that malnutrition depends upon improper or insufficient food.

Apparently there is confusion between things that nourish and persons that nurture. To nourish is to afford bodily strength, to supply the physical necessities of the body. To nurture is to extend one's care to the supply of all physical necessities to preserve life, to occasion growth, and to increase vigor.

It must be borne in mind that failure of nutrition may arise from the unsuitable character of food, its inadequate digestion and assimilation, with or without symptoms definitely referable to the digestive organs. Technically, failures in nutrition arise from faulty function in metabolism. Under these circumstances, it is patent that nutrition may be affected by the peculiarities of food, the daily amount ingested, the intervals between eating, bacterial contamina-



tion, methods of food preparation, and disordered digestive function.

But malnutrition itself is not a disease condition. It is merely a symptom of many diseases, of poor hygiene, of bad social conditions, of food inadequacies, or of a combination of any or all of them.

Good nutrition means a well-nourished and normally developed child. In the words of Fritz Talbot, "Good nutrition includes the following factors: dry, clear eyes; smooth, glossy hair; soft, smooth skin, without eruption; bright facial expression; mouth kept closed; ability to breathe easily through the nose; clear hearing; ability to stand and sit erect with back straight, shoulders not sagging; abdomen held in, not protruding beyond the chest; firm flesh, covered with a moderate amount of fat; musculature good; muscles well developed and not flabby; color of mucous membranes and of the skin reddish pink; no dark circles under the eyes; and finally an air of vitality, elasticity and joy, which is characteristic of childhood."

The problem of nutrition involves the recognition of physical defects, of the necessity for individual medical examinations, a study of the social life of the child, a knowledge of home habits, and a due consideration for the numerous disease states which may be responsible for variations in the nutritive processes. One recognizes that in the consideration of nutrition there are involved problems of activity and rest, digestion, mental attitudes, moral entanglements, as well as over-feeding, under-feeding, and unsuitable feeding, inadequate digestive organs, or disorders that may affect digestion or assimilation, but which are dependent upon underlying pathological states, such as tuberculosis or syphilis.

More attention has been devoted to the problems of malnutrition and to the method of determining its existence than to an analysis of its exact nature. As a result, there have been numerous suggestions as to rules of thumb for noting deviations from normal nutrition. For example, the Federal Children's Bureau and the New York State Department of Health have accepted Holt's standard of ten per cent underweight as testifying to an undernourished child, while William P. Emerson regards seven per cent

## 50 The Challenge of Childhood

underweight for height and age as an adequate index. There is much to be said against the determination of malnutrition on the sole basis of weight and height measurement. Mere gain of weight beyond theoretic proportions for height and age does not constitute sufficient reason for pronouncing the general nutrition of the body satisfactory. It merely indicates that the process of nutrition has been stimulated, though not necessarily by reason of improved digestive powers or increased food supply.

The Dunfermline Scale, proposed by Dr. Alister MacKenzie, has been widely employed. It recognizes excellent nutrition as the nutrition of a healthy child of good social standing, with good nutrition falling just short of this. Children requiring supervision form a third group who are on the borderline of serious impairment, while those requiring medical treatment have seriously impaired nutrition. I believe, however, that for an appreciation of this scale, it is essential to bear in mind the statement of Sir George Newman: "Sound nutrition is a general physiological condition which connotes a healthy body in all respects and the good tone and health of its various constituent parts, its brain and nervous system, its muscular, digestive, circulatory, and lymphatic systems. All this means that we must take a wide and comprehensive view of nutrition, which is a state revealing itself in a variety of signs and symptoms. Thus, in endeavoring to estimate a child's nutrition or its opposite (viz., malnutrition), we must think not only of bulk and weight of body and of its carriage and bearing, of the firmness of the tissues, of the presence of subcutaneous fat, of the condition and process of the development of the muscular system, of the condition of the skin and the redness of the mucous membranes, of the nervous and muscular system as expressed in listlessness or alertness, in apathy or keenness, of the condition of the various systems of the body, and, speaking generally, of the relative balance and coördination of the functions of digestion, absorption, and assimilation of food, as well as of the excretion of wasted products. It is obvious that these are data which are likely to lead to a much more reliable opinion than the consideration of any one factor or ratio, however expeditiously obtained or convenient in form or practice,

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and these data will demand a wider as well as more careful and accurate observation of the whole physique of the child. Nor can an ultimate opinion always be formed at one inspection at any given moment. For nutrition, like its reverse, malnutrition, is a process and not an event. In regard to diagnosis, therefore, the school medical officer has as yet neither an absolute standard of nutrition nor a single criterion to guide him. He must form a considerate and careful opinion on all the facts before him."

We arrive finally at the recognition of the fact that sound nutrition is rather elusive of definition and difficult to distinguish in childhood, essentially because of the complexity and interaction of all parts of the human machine.

Biologically, nutrition is concerned with the chemical and physical transformation of foods, their assimilation in part, and the excretion of the remainder. Nutrition is defined as "A process by which living organisms prepare, modify, and utilize the materials needful for their existence, growth, and development." It is a process by which the tissues and organs of the body are formed and maintained in their normality of form, size, composition, and functional interaction. It is by reason of the correlation and harmony of various physiologic systems that the human organism functions normally. We can study parts of the body or specific functions, but the meaning of such studies must be appreciated in relation to the organic unity of all the functions essential for well-being. Thus, nutrition as a process is dependent upon adequate circulation, respiration, nervous stimulation and control, and the ability of all tissues of the body to appropriate the materials requisite for their continued normality and ability to function.

It is essentially true that the life of an individual is dependent upon the life of cells or the various combinations of cells which constitute the organs and tissues of his body. The physiological normality of the body depends upon the harmonious relations of all vital activities. In other words, there is organic tissue interdependence. A deficient quality or quantity of blood may cause nutritive derangements of organs, with consequent cell deteriorations. Failure of excretory organs to function normally leads to the accumulation of waste products in the blood, and interferes with

## 52 The Challenge of Childhood

the function of far-removed organs which may re-assert themselves in interferences with nutritive processes. Alterations of the blood may arise from a large variety of causes, because of the essential interdependence of each and all body tissues. Hence, the nervous system, the internal secretions, infectious diseases, poisonings, congenital defects, acquired disabilities, mental disturbances, or social maladjustments may so alter the functions of tissues as seriously to affect one or more of the physiological systems of the body, the main evidence of which may be manifest in departures from what we are pleased to term normal nutrition.

With this concept unconsciously accepted, we have modified our picture of nutrition, and to-day in our common usage we are using the word nutrition as synonymous with our idea of the normality of all vital phenomena. This position virtually is founded upon the fact that no life functions are performed without involving some replacement of dead material by living matter, for which purpose the nutritive process is essential. It is generally appreciated that a change in any system of the body or a modification of hygiene or psychology affects physiological processes and thus influences nutrition favorably or unfavorably.

There is inherent in protoplasm the power to ingest, digest, absorb, and egest substances in order to maintain its life. It is a fundamental characteristic of active cells to alter and rebuild their structure through nutritive powers. Nutrition is the process whereby cell growth is promoted, cell waste is repaired, and heat and energy are developed. Inasmuch as the term nutrition has thus been broadened in its modern usage as applied to nutrition classes and centers, I may ask wherein do we now differentiate the idea of nutrition from the idea of health? Health is a condition of soundness of a living organism. The health of an organism is dependent upon the health of the constituent cells, tissues, and organs. The manifestations of health depend upon the normality of the nutritive processes, and in turn, the adequate functioning of the nutritive process is bound up in the adequacy of the cells, tissues, and organs.

When, therefore, we discuss "nutrition classes" and

"nutrition centers" we are really considering health classes and health centers with an emphasis upon the attention which should be placed upon the nutritive process. The point of view is essentially the health point of view. To speak of nutrition as if it concerned itself only with food, school lunches, education in dietetics, and culinary methods is to narrow our interest in the welfare of children. Nutrition workers face relative failure unless they appreciate the complete interdependence of the physiologic systems whose harmony of action underlies normal health. Nutrition workers must be more than dietitians—primarily they must attack all practical problems of nutrition. Consequently, the terms "nutrition class" and "nutrition center" appear to be undesirable, because they fail to express the complete meaning of nutrition. We no longer employ the term nutrition in its purely dietetic connotation, nor even in its meaning of a specific physiologic process of tissue-building and repair.

For all its elusive technical definition and varied description, to all intents and purposes we now speak of nutrition as an index of health. Good nutrition is the equivalent of good health—and malnutrition is the equivalent of ill health.

## 7—Maria

MARIA, a three year old girl, weighing twenty-two and a half pounds, was unable to talk. Her ribs were marked by a rachitic rosary. She was knock-kneed, and the head of the thigh bone was twisted. A younger brother, aged seventeen months and the last of ten children, was unable to stand; he was still being breast fed. An older sister, six and one-half years old, and weighing thirty-nine pounds, who had begun to walk when sixteen months old, was markedly bow-legged. Maria weighed little above the average of one year old children; the seventeen months' old boy was at about the eighth month weight level, while the six and a half year old was approximately twenty pounds below the normal for her age. But these marked nutritional weaknesses were less serious than the bony deformities and general physical retardation incident



to a lack of mineralization of the bones. Enlarged joints, square heads, sunken lower ribs, bowlegs, knock-knees, flat feet, and spinal curvatures were the physical evidences of serious, special nutritional deficiencies.

These three children, of Italian parentage, presented the effects of rickets. Frequently, as in this case, rickets is a family disease, for the conditions causing it are bound up in family life—inadequate sunlight and fresh air, and an insufficient amount of protein, mineral foods, and vitamins A. and B. Most probably, a child's susceptibility to rickets arises from pre-natal causes. Indeed, children may even be born rachitic—that is, with an imperfect bone formation. The causes of both congenital rickets and a susceptibility to post-natal rickets are to be found in the malnutrition of the pregnant mother, whose diet yields insufficient lime and phosphorus to the fetus. Even a lack of sunlight may be a causative factor, for it affects the unborn child through the metabolism of its mother.

Children afflicted with congenital rickets have been penalized by their mothers' lack of knowledge concerning their own foods during pregnancy and lactation. Beyond breast feeding, nature has not equipped mothers with the instinctive knowledge of what to feed their infants. Social usage and medical or dietetic science are requisite to remedy the deficiency. In the complexity of urban communities, abnormal living conditions arise which invalidate the values that obtain under rural and peasant life. This partially accounts for the frequency of rickets in cities, and for its seasonal variation. It appears more frequently in the spring of the year after a season of living indoors, where little sunlight is admitted and ventilation is scarcely of the fresh air type. Though these facts do not completely explain the high incidence of rickets among Italians and Negroes, they probably account for the variation of incidence of rickets among the Italians in the United States and in their native land. Another causal factor is to be found in the tendency of Italians and Negroes to prolong lactation unduly, partly from ignorance, and partly because of the simplicity and obvious economic advantages of breast feeding.

To prevent rickets, breast feeding beyond the ninth month

should be discouraged. Indeed, inasmuch as rickets is most likely to appear from the sixth to the eighteenth month, it is important to give supplemental foods to infants at a very early age. Orange juice may be begun at the third month in ten drop doses and gradually increased to one ounce by the end of the first year. But even this may not suffice to prevent rickets. The most valuable dietetic adjunct for this purpose is cod liver oil in its pure form, and fortunately children accept it with little, if any, remonstrance. The regular administration of cod liver oil should be a routine procedure for children, particularly among those families whose economic and social standards are low. In this connection, its use should be the rule in day nurseries and other institutions caring for children under two years of age. The dosage is ten drops daily for children three months old, with a gradual increase until one-half ounce is taken daily at one and one-half years. Cod liver oil appears to have specific values by reason of its fat and iodine content, and its richness in vitamin A. It apparently functions in the body as a binder of calcium, lessening its excretion and thereby retaining it for bone development.

In the case of Maria and her brother and sister, the active stage of the disease had passed, and the period for preventive service was over. My aim was to restore the mineral balance, and also to increase the proportion of protein and vitamins in the diet. The prompt administration of cod liver oil was imperative. At the same time there was need for the essential foods for tissue growth and repair, and a supply of material available for heat and energy. Hence, a special family dietary was outlined so as to include high protein and fat elements, along with mineral-containing vegetables and ample vitamin-bearing foods. As is usual, there was already an over-consumption of carbohydrate foods, and these were therefore reduced.

Growing children have need for liberal feeding with an ample need of calories each day. For guidance, be it noted:

Age		Calories per Day
2 to	5	1100-1500
6 "	9	1600-1900
10 "	13	2000-2700
14 "	17	2500-3400



## 56      The Challenge of Childhood

This energizing value is in sharp contrast with the 2750-3000 calories for a thirty year old weighing one hundred and fifty pounds and at light occupation, or the 2500 calories usually adequate for those past forty years of age. The child is a growing organism which must build tissues as well as repair the damage that results from the daily activity. The adult, in addition to caring for his heat and energy requirements, is mainly in the tissue repair business.

As protein food is the main substance from which the body tissues are formed, it is reasonable to give children a larger proportion of animal and vegetable proteins than are healthful for adults. Milk is recognizably the most valuable single food because it contains all the food elements that enter into body structure. Further, nature has made it the particular food upon which animals are fed until they possess the growth, digestive capacity, masticatory strength, and assimilative power to attempt a non-maternal food supply.

In the United States, milk is the preferred food whenever it is available, whether raw, pasteurized, condensed, or in the form of a powder. As one quart of milk supplies 640 calories, it is evident that for children under five years of age it may yield 40 per cent to 50 per cent of the total calories needed. But since throughout the world more children are raised without cow's milk than with it, it is helpful to think of the general possibilities of feeding without reference to milk as the sole dependable food stuff. Four glasses of milk yield a high food value, and therefore care should be exercised in selecting the foods that are to make up the remainder of the total calories. The protein may be derived from eggs, meat, fish, cream cheese, peas, beans, and lentils. The additional fats, highest producers of energy, may be secured from eggs, butter, meat fat, olive oil, cottonseed and other vegetable oils. These vegetable fats are not the food equivalents of animal oils, as they lack the much-valued vitamins. For practical purposes, however, they aid in furnishing calories at the rate of nine per gram. The carbohydrates are most common of all food-stuffs, and it matters little, from a caloric point of view, whether they be derived from sugar, or the starch of seeds, fruits, roots, tubers, or leaves, as long as the variable con-

tent be known. Potatoes and rice, for example, are richer in caloric value, but are less valuable than spinach or beet tops for iron and vitamin.

All mineral substances entering into the body structure must be secured from the ingested food. The most valuable minerals are calcium, phosphorus, and iron, though the body requires iodine, magnesium, chlorine, sodium, potassium, and many others. The growth of bones, as the framework of the human structure, and of the teeth, as essential tools for preparing food for digestion, emphasize the need of calcium and phosphorus, while the hemoglobin of the blood demands a constant supply of iron.

Health is not assured by a complete supply of the caloric requirements of the body, even though the nutritive ratio be correct and mineralization be adequately provided. The substances termed vitamins by Funk are vital to growth, health, and normal development. Thus far, four or five of these substances have been determined. The most important, as well as the best known, are called the fat soluble A, the water soluble B, and the anti-scorbutic C. Unless adequate amounts of these substances are included in the dietary, a variety of so-called deficiency diseases may result. Scurvy arises from a deficiency of vitamin C. McCollum regards vitamins A and B as necessary to prevent the occurrence of rickets.

Fortunately, Nature has been prodigal in her distribution of these nutritive elements, and has so distributed them that a comparatively small number of foodstuffs will supply all. Fortunately, also, it happens that most of these elements are found in reasonably cheap foods. The following tabulation shows the comparative amounts of calcium, phosphorus, iron, and the respective vitamins contained in the most common and useful foodstuffs:

Thus it is a simple matter to recognize the type of dietary that is most useful in preventing or counteracting the dire effects of rickets. At the same time, a diet of this character is most valuable for sustaining life on a high plane of activity.

The rationale of ordinary feeding has often been dis-

cussed, but this particular problem of protecting skeletal development is frequently understressed.

	Vitamin C (C prevents scurvy. All useful in preventing rickets.)	Vitamin A (Fat soluble) Vitamin A Vitamin B	Vitamin B (Water soluble)
			Lime Phosphorus Iron
Lean meat	.. *?	**	****
Oatmeal	..... ?	*	*****
Barley	..... ?	*	*****
Cabbage	..... *	***	**
Carrots	..... **	***	***
Celery	..... ?	***	***
Chard	..... ?	***	*****
Lettuce	..... **	**	*****
Onions	..... **	**	?
Potatoes	..... ?	***	***
Sweet potatoes	..... ?	***	*
Spinach	..... ?	**	*
Dried peas	..... *	***	*
Kidney beans	..... ?	***	*****
Fresh string beans	..... **	***	*****
Rice	..... ?	***	*****
White bread	..... ?	***	*****
Whole wheat bread	..... ?	*(?)	*****
Tomatoes	..... **	**	*****
Lemons	..... ****	***	*****
Oranges	..... ****	***	*
Prunes	..... ****	***	*
Butter	..... ?	*	*
Cod liver oil	..... ?	****	***
Eggs	..... *	****	?
Dried milk powder	..... *	****	?
Buttermilk	..... *	****	*****
Fresh milk	..... *	****	*****
Cream	..... *	****	*****

Not differing greatly from the principles above mentioned is the relation of nutrition to dental development. In rickets, retarded dentition is commonly found. Irregularity in the order of the eruption of the teeth and also weak enamel structure lead to early caries. The importance of prenatal conditioning of dental structure is patent from

these facts; the enamel organ arises in the dental shelf at the eighth week of intra-uterine life, while the dental follicle is completed at the end of the third month. The dentine deposits for the temporary teeth exist at the end of the fourth month, as well as the full differentiation of the enamel organ and the enamel bud of the first molar tooth. The bud of the second molar is formed three months after birth, and that of the third molar at three years of age. Thus, by the sixteenth week, post-conception, the enamel buds of all the permanent teeth excepting the molars are formed, and at the end of the seventh month the enamel organs of the permanent teeth are fully differentiated. The roots of the teeth are not evident until the process of eruption begins, when the cementum is formed.

As the enamel contains approximately 54% of calcium oxide and 37% phosphorus pentoxide, while dentine possesses 53½% and 39½% respectively, the great need for calcium and phosphorus in the dietary of the pregnant and lactating mother is evident.

Dietetics constitutes an important phase of prophylactic dentistry. It would appear, however, that the necessity for correct feeding exists from conception, with especial emphasis upon the period of pregnancy in order to give fundamental strength to the dental organs. During lactation correct feeding is equally imperative as an aid to the eruptive process, as well as in the formation of enamel and dentine able to withstand the latter effects of an adult diet devitalized by new dietetic devices and poor cookery.

The doctrine that a clean tooth is a sound tooth is excellent for propaganda purposes, but it is far from the truth. Brushing the teeth will not atone for a lack of sound dentine and enamel. Hence in rachitic children, the primary dental correction depends upon an improved dietary in addition to the removal of all caries, with extractions if necessary. Unnecessary removal of temporary teeth is to be avoided, as proper occlusion for the permanent teeth depends upon the jaw development, which is aided by the thrust of the first teeth. This, of course, is no excuse for retaining foul, carious teeth capable of diseasing the gums, and possibly of infecting seriously the entire organism.

## 60 The Challenge of Childhood

### 8—Herbert

HERBERT is a rather undersized, twelve year old boy who presents a slight spinal curvature and pronated feet, with some caries of the teeth. His general physical organization is otherwise normal, save for a limited motion of the upper jaw.

After an attack of measles, an inflammation occurred in the soft parts above the jaw and its areas of articulation in front of the ear. Following this there were contractions, causing an inability to separate the teeth more than a quarter of an inch. Secondary consequences were the failure of the lower jaw to develop normally, so that it has retained a somewhat infantile form, giving the face a rather birdlike appearance. His appearance is a distinct handicap, and has created a moderate degree of sensitiveness which is interfering with his complete enjoyment of social contacts.

The limitation of function—his restricted biting space and the interference with the grinding of food—has required some adjustment of Herbert's dietary. Concentrated nourishment, a large proportion of which is of liquid or semi-solid character, provides adequately for his nutriment. In consequence there is no real difficulty in continuing the upbuilding of his body. But as there is a tendency for such contractions to increase, procedures designed to lessen the likelihood of a more complete closure of the jaw are necessary. There are two alternatives: to make use of a screw form of wedge to be used daily between the teeth for the purpose of exerting counter pressure, or to perform an operation involving the formation of a new maxillary joint.

X-ray pictures taken of Herbert's jaw fail to show any definite involvement of the bony structures. It must be borne in mind, however, that X-ray pictures merely reveal the degree of translucency of substances to X-ray, as a result of which relative shadows occur. The interpretation of the X-ray plate demands varied experience and careful judgment: a radiograph is a symptomatic photograph to be interpreted in the light of the entire clinical history; and this holds true whether one is considering the

question of extracting a tooth because of a dental abscess, or of operating for gastric ulcer. Herbert's radiograph is negative to the extent that it gives no shadows to be interpreted in relation to the partially locked joint. In its positive aspects, however, it may be interpreted as revealing no actual changes in the bone or the joint itself. It is probable, therefore, that the difficulty is resident in the soft tissues surrounding the joint.

Medical treatment would be unavailing. Should operative treatment be undertaken? If a new joint could be made to function successfully there would be a distinct gain to Herbert from an enlarged dietary, and also there might be an increase of bony growth as the result of which the lower jaw might take on a more normal appearance. This would result in a transformation of his face, which would increase the boy's sense of personal fitness and, hence, his self-respect. If, however, a projected operation of this character should prove unsuccessful, the boy might have less functional ability for his jaws, and the degree of his facial infirmity might be increased. Hence there is a definite risk to be assumed that appears to be unwarranted at this time, while he is undergoing adolescent changes which may definitely alter his facial contour. Therefore it would seem preferable to postpone the operation until Herbert has grown up—until the man is willing to assume full responsibility for any failure that might ensue. But if, in the meanwhile, the condition should advance in seriousness so as to limit further the separation of the jaws, operation would become imperative. Then the assumption of responsibility would have to be placed upon the parents.

The distinction between an imperative and an elective operative procedure is too often overlooked. Advising a surgical operation should be conditioned by an appreciation of all possible effects upon the individual, for even the removal of tonsils carries with it a definite element of risk, from anesthetic, hemorrhage, and pulmonary disease. The tendency to advocate wholesale removal of tonsils is unscientific. As a routine, tonsillectomies for all types of special defects, even for mouth breathing, are reprehensible. A failure to breathe through the nose,



## 62 The Challenge of Childhood

arising from a high arched palate, is not relieved by removal of the tonsils any more than limited vision, due to a lack of development of brain cells, can be corrected by wearing glasses.

A considerable degree of responsibility attaches to every decision involving operation. There should be, therefore, a careful weighing of the need, the imperative-ness, the safety, and the probable and possible end-results. There should be definite recognition as to whether the purpose is curative, palliative, or preventive. The right to urge an operation upon another should involve a conscious willingness, under similar circumstances, to undergo the operation oneself, or to submit one's child to it. With this principle in mind, it is easy to understand why parents hesitate to accept the responsibility when advised to submit their offspring to allegedly necessary operations. It may be remarked, incidentally, that the need for various operations on children is too often announced by workers among them who have not had the necessary training in medicine to be able to weigh all of the evidence.

In a large proportion of children's cases involving the possible use of surgery (of course outside of actual emergent, definitely surgical conditions) there is always ample time for reflection and judgment. Operations for club feet, bowlegs, crossed eyes, tonsils and adenoids, supernumerary digits, herniae, old dislocations, locking of joints, and nasal spurs, are not all of the same character, and are to be considered individually in their relation to the general physical health of each child. The mere question of anatomic relations should be subordinated to the idea of purpose in terms of functional integrity. The special defect is merely a part of the whole child.

### 9—Ralph

**R**ALPH, a seven year old boy, was four feet five inches in height and weighed sixty pounds—which is the median height and weight of a nine year old child. He had a moderate lateral curvature of the spine, knock-knees, and pronated, flat feet. His muscles were flabby and his ligaments lax. His posture was poor, and correct position



could be maintained for only a short space of time. All his movements were slow and clumsy, and he fell down easily.

He was somewhat pale, his eyelid margins were reddened, and the glands of his neck and groins were enlarged. There was a soft, blowing murmur at the base of the heart. A blood examination revealed a moderate anemia, and a careful examination of his eyes disclosed a high degree of myopia (near-sightedness).

His mental ability was average, but there was a marked incoordination in his hand work.

His had been a normal birth at term, and he had been breast fed for only one month. His first teeth had appeared when he was eight months old. He had been late in learning to sit up and to stand, and he had not walked until he was twenty months of age. He had talked at eighteen months. There was no evidence of scurvy; indeed, he had been fed orange juice from his third month. His tonsils and adenoids had been removed before he was one year old because of the frequency of colds and of an incidental abscess of the ear. He had had measles and whooping cough, both severely, and a troublesome cough had persisted for fully six months after the active stage of the whooping cough had subsided.

In Ralph's case, the series of elements that required special thought included his rapid growth, anemia, enlarged glands, and myopia. The early history of repeated colds, the severity of his attacks of contagious diseases, his muscular flabbiness, and his ready fatiguability, together with his enlarged glands, suggested the possibility of latent tuberculous infection. A positive tuberculin reaction indicated that he had been infected at some time during his life, and the question arose as to whether there was an active tuberculous disease in progress. The lungs offered no evidence of tuberculous infection; nor was there any continued fever. An X-ray examination of the chest, however, revealed enlarged bronchial lymph glands, in addition to the enlarged glands in the neck. There was a suspicion, therefore, that despite his heavy weight and large size, the anemic, easily fatigued boy was harboring

## 64 The Challenge of Childhood

a glandular tuberculosis, which was most marked in the bronchial nodes.

Patently, it was necessary to build up his general health and to protect his vision to enable him to enjoy the privilege and benefits of school life. Ample hours of sleep, including a rest after luncheon, were advised. His diet was carefully supervised so as to include a large amount of milk, eggs, green vegetables and other foods containing calcium and iron. In addition, cod liver oil was to be administered three times daily. Ample opportunity was provided for rest and play in the open air, particularly in the sunshine, and the rest period at home was in a sunny room with open window.

His orthopedic defects called for supervised exercises for the purpose of strengthening the muscles of the back, of overcoming the spinal curvature, and of decreasing the degree of knock knees and pronation of the feet. For a considerable period of time plates were worn to aid in building up the arches of his feet.

School attendance was limited to half the day, not merely because of a desire to lessen the time spent indoors, but in order to safeguard his vision. For his myopia was as important a factor in his future development as his latent tuberculosis. The entire scheme of his life might be altered if there should be a progressiveness of his near-sightedness. The whole plan of education calls for visual effort. In truth, the school environment tends to increase myopia through inadequate lighting, small print, and poor desk arrangement. Excessive study and application in poorly ventilated rooms also tend to increase myopia.

In this type of ocular difficulty, lenses are especially necessary and helpful. A sense of vanity rather than the cost prompts many parents to delay placing needed spectacles upon young children. But the wearing of glasses by young children with myopia tends to lessen the likelihood of a marked squint, and, therefore, actually improves the facial expression of many children. There are those who shamelessly exploit human frailty by the catching slogan that all diseases of the eye are curable without glasses. The myopic, unprotected by glasses, has his sight endangered. Hence the constant wearing of glasses becomes

the first step in the management of myopia and of all the physical symptoms resulting therefrom.

The hygiene of vision was promoted by having Ralph in the open air, by insisting upon the wearing of properly adjusted glasses, and by curtailing the school day. The headaches and the fatigue due to eyestrain subsided, thus improving his general powers of endurance and promoting his physical and mental comfort.

The improvement of his dietary, together with breathing exercises and systematic physical training, as well as resting in the sunshine, served to build up a large measure of vitality. His muscular control increased, and there was a marked decline in his awkwardness as tone returned to his muscles and ligaments.

General health and visual welfare are interrelated. Hence the early protection of Ralph's physical well-being and the adoption of reasonable safeguards of eyesight were dual steps towards the preservation of his capacity for educational work. The combination of latent tuberculosis and myopia merits attention to the part that either or both may play with reference to the boy's later health and welfare. The immediate concern deals with his general development and the correction of his bony defects. The future, however, demands an equally vigorous plan of action for the conservation of vision. Ralph, tuberculous and myopic, would be heavily penalized in his scheme of living. The future possesses comparatively little hazard for him vocationally, with his tuberculosis arrested and the progress of the myopia checked. For many years, however, his educational life must be guided and determined in terms of his present handicaps. An open air school or an open air class, a limited time in the school room, and supplementary nourishment are by no means directed merely towards the arresting of the tuberculosis. They are similarly necessary for the protection of his vision.

The work that has been instituted for educating the blind is highly meritorious, but after all it cannot compensate for the frightful losses incident to blindness. It cannot restore sight. Classes for children with pronounced myopia are preventive and constructive in character, and

## 66 The Challenge of Childhood

while they may not serve greatly to decrease the nearsightedness, they do offset tendencies towards its progression. Thus they conserve for the children and the community the essential values that accrue to human beings who are able to see, even with some limitation of power. The myopic child requires a higher degree of attention, because of the demand that he attend school. His vision is paramount to his school attendance. His education should be determined on the basis of his capacity for seeing, and with reference to the preservation of all of his remaining vision. The special attention essential to him is found in the myopic classes of England, and in the sight conservation classes of the New York City schools, but in few other places. The extension of such educational facilities is requisite in order to safeguard the visual health and the vocational development of large numbers of myopic children throughout the country.

It is unnecessary to stress the handicapping nature of tuberculosis or defects of eyesight. Both are well known and well understood. The adoption of a rational program is all that is necessary to counteract their dire effects. A wider appreciation of their influences upon physical, mental, and moral development would increase all efforts to prevent their development.

## Division II: Intellectual Problems

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## Intellectual Problems—Introduction

**A**PPROACHING the mental problems of the child, one recognizes the existence of instincts, emotions, and sentiments. The instincts represent racial channels for functioning. The emotions form the feeling phase of all types of response to stimuli. The sentiments are the crystallized opinions that arise from the habits of living; they are the products of conscious or subconscious activity, induced by emotional stresses incident to harmonious or thwarted instinctive reactions.

In its completeness, brain power deals with cognition, sensations, emotions, habits, and conduct. Though the affective (feeling) qualities cannot be disregarded, it is my purpose in this division to dwell upon cerebral endowment as it affects knowing.

Intelligence involves capacity for acquiring knowledge, and the power of reasoning and judgment. Inherent brain capacity, or native intelligence, is the latent power-to-function of the sensory and motor machinery with which the child is created. The evidence of capacity varies with age development, so that apparently new powers are developed of which there is no hint at birth or during early child life. The cortical cells do not develop their full possibilities for many years, but they exist and are prepared to respond to use as they are required.

As a fundamental necessity of intelligent action, the physical, perceptual relations must be intact. Thinking is dependent upon the senses. If the normal brain is deficient in incoming sensations, there is a lack of stimulation of response. If a congenital visual defect interferes peripherally with vision, or if infective ophthalmia produces blindness, the normal cerebral centers of vision cannot function. The blindness demands a compensatory type of stimulation which will atone in part for its existence, and thus the blind acquire unusual facility in using their senses of touch



## 70 The Challenge of Childhood

and hearing. The compensation does not represent a higher degree of capacity in these directions, but rather a more carefully developed training of these particular sense organs. Similarly, an aural defect that involves bilateral deafness cuts off sense impressions which are significant for normal living. Speech being largely dependent upon hearing, early deafness seriously limits mental development. The thinking mechanism is intact, but it is severed from auditory contact with the world, and in turn it is limited not only in thought stimulation, but in the ability to translate ideas into verbal communication.

If touch, taste, sight, smelling, or hearing be impaired, mental reaction becomes variously deficient. The brain is a transformer of sensation into action. Intelligence operates on the basis of the primary sensations—and their physical and mental derivatives. Hence, intelligence utilizes perceptions and ideas, association and memory, recognition, imagination, and reasoning. In practical operation, intelligence is the organic discrimination between new and old experiences. In consequence, dulness of perception retards, perverts, or prevents normal function. This element of discrimination is not a single process, but a result of the interaction of all the processes which, for the purpose of analysis only, may be segregated. Thus it is possible to test memory, association, imagination, or reasoning. In daily living these phases of intellect operate with such synchronism that estimating mental capacity does not demand their special differentiation. When mental power appears to be obviously below accepted standards, inquiry may determine which elements of weakness are affecting the entire mental machinery.

The integrity of the intellect is determined by the adequate coöperation of all mental functions. There are, in individuals, variations in quantity as well as quality. One has an excellent immediate memory with poor power of retentiveness, another has slow memorization but excellent retention of what has been learned. One has a slight, slow-acting imagination, while another is overwhelmed by a flight of images that handicap concentration. One acquires memories readily but is weak in association, comparison, reasoning, and judgments. It is therefore imperative to recog-

## Intellectual Problems—Introduction 71

nize the multiplicity of variations in mental functioning of the human mind.

Time reactions mark a difference between the dull plodder and the careless, superior-minded child, and they are entitled to consideration in the educational process. Likewise, there are differences in endurance as opposed to mere application. One child has the physical endurance to expend tremendous energies which would temporarily overcome his companion. Similarly, the fatigue point in mental effort merits thought in connection with the expression of mental vitality. The fatigue curve of writing affords an excellent illustration, but fatigue curves exist no less definitely in studying, thinking, and creative work.

Both the elements of time and endurance enter into the problems of accuracy but, in addition, one must consider the part that is played by association, coördination, concentration, imagination, interest, and emotional motivation. The keen mind, though possessing an evenness of ability in various school branches, may evidence dissimilar degrees of accuracy or even a sudden falling off in general class performance. With all perceptual channels clear for impressions, with cortical centers intact for interpreting sensations, a break in associational continuity may interfere with accuracy. Thus a child who has had a cerebral hemorrhage may know the word he wishes to spell and write and yet do both incorrectly. Specific forms of inaccuracy frequently cast light upon the sources of cerebral difficulty in performing the work in arithmetic, reading, spelling, and other subjects.

Intelligence may be defined as the general capacity of an individual consciously to adjust his thinking and conduct to new requirements. It is the general mental adaptability to new conditions and problems of life. Intelligence is not static but dynamic power. At any particular moment it is the sum total of capacities for mental adaptation. Definitely involved are emotional, volitional, and spiritual trends which are at present beyond evaluation, measurement, or standardization.

Any measure that cannot have an absolute fixed standard is open to question. There is no bureau of weights or measures to which mental measurements may be referred.

## 72 The Challenge of Childhood

Nevertheless, it is a matter of great convenience to utilize some type of yardstick in measuring the human mind. During the past two decades psychologists have sought methods for establishing bases of comparing individual minds of the same age in terms of mass accomplishment at those ages. Inherent mental capacity is difficult to determine, but if tests are arranged so as to minimize the influence of education, cultural background, and social placement, they have a reasonably practical field of service.

Heredity transmits widely variant mental potentials, which determine the limits within which intellectual development is possible. There may be a marked difference between the development achieved by two minds of equally limited power because of the dissimilar families into which they were born. Social, economic, and educational background partly determine the degree to which the limited potentials are to be realized. The created mind has its ultimate future powers at birth as truly as the germinal cells have predetermined the dominant features of the physiognomy. This may be fetterdom, martyrdom, or restriction of personal liberty, but children are not born free and equal—nor is every American child fit and available for the Presidency of the United States.

One recognizes types of mind in the educational world. In the face of obstacles and new situations, children manifest weak minds which cannot though every effort be made; flabby minds which tire quickly; balky minds which hesitate and refuse to work; plodding minds which go over the difficulty by dint of diligence; doubting minds which lose time wondering whether they can succeed; agile minds which leap over the difficulty, unconscious of its existence; astigmatic minds which see difficulties where none exist. In terms of temperament, one finds the sanguine who see no obstacles, the melancholy who are depressed by them, the choleric who are enraged at the check to progress, and the phlegmatic who are indifferent to their problems. While these varieties of mind present themselves, they are gauged in terms of attitude rather than of inherent capacity. An attitude is the habit of mind that is born of past thought and experience. It does not reflect underlying ability to remember, think, or reason, but, to no small degree, it is

## Intellectual Problems—Introduction 73

developed and controlled by that ability in coöperation with emotional components, conscious and subconscious. Hence any measure of mental power is of value even though it may not plumb more than a tenth of the mind.

Intelligence tests do not measure instinct, emotion, sensation, attention, or reflex action, wherefore their interpretation becomes of paramount importance. The most commonly employed mental measure is Terman's modification of the Binet-Simon Scale. This comprises a series of fifty-four tests which have been standardized upon the basis of the ability of children of different ages to accomplish them successfully. Certain tests have been grouped as representing the normal power of successful achievement at each age upon the premise of the success of 75% of the children tested at each age. In the group of queries one finds tests of memory, reasoning, comparison for likenesses and differences, number concepts, association, spontaneity, muscular coördination, ideation, and judgment. Thus there is an effort to secure a cross section of some of the dominant mental processes at various age levels. The character of each test provides for a reaction to something new so as to minimize the likelihood of measuring accumulated information.

It is unnecessary to discuss the technic of making the mental tests, but it is fitting to dwell upon the fact that they do afford a valuable leverage in understanding the problems of childhood. They will not determine all of the factors entering into rational processes, but they do yield a standardized method of comparing children's innate mental activity. They will not serve absolute prognostic ends so far as vocations are concerned; nor do they indicate initiative, leadership, inventive capacity, social grace, special gift, or character. Unfortunately, the desire for short cuts to certain knowledge holds true in connection with the amateur use of the tests. One does not use a linear measure to estimate cubic capacity; nor can determining the mental age of a child indicate the entire brain capacity. One must face the limitation of scales of measurement frankly but employ them in terms of their maximum usefulness. One requires other measures to de-

## 74 The Challenge of Childhood

termine the existence of special abilities or disabilities, even though they may be suggested by routine examinations.

Intelligence is a reasonably constant factor, though sometimes there are variations in the levels attained at repeated examinations. These differences arise from emotional instabilities and from the effects of physical disease states which affect the entire psychic well-being. Even a lack of rapport between the examiner and the examinee causes invalid results. The effect of chorea, epileptiform attacks, cretinism, post typhoid states, and profound anemias, for example, interferes with the dependability of a single intelligence test. Consequently the interpretation of intelligence tests requires an appreciation of the physical status of the individual, or erroneous conclusions may be drawn. Similarly, depressant drugs, such as bromides, adalin, veronal, and the like, conceal the real mental potentials as truly as do states of pain, rage, anxiety, grief, or discouragement. While intelligence tests are designed to indicate the levels of function in terms of mental age, they are to be regarded as offering relative, rather than absolute, information.

The native intellectual endowment fixes the limits of power and the reactivity of responses to stimuli of internal or external origin. Hence there is need for caution in fixing a level of intellectual capacity without accepting its complete setting in terms of physical, moral, spiritual, social, and economic life. The recognition of linguistic difficulties, educational opportunity, and cultural background leads to wiser interpretation of tests of intellectual power. The real purpose of intelligence testing is to disclose power rather than accumulated information. There is less reliability in deriving opinions from the mass of acquired knowledge than in passing judgment upon the ability to learn and remember newly presented material. What one has already learned facilitates the acquisition of new knowledge but does not dominate the adaptability to new experiences and problems. Responsiveness involves the complete coordination of the mental processes whereby the original mass of information was acquired. Ideation, reasoning, and judgment require more than an accumulation of factual knowledge.

Intelligence tests do not serve as a complete pedagogic

## Intellectual Problems—Introduction 75

criterion, and are especially weak if the rating in mental age is considered as an isolated fact. The term "mental age" refers to the levels of performance on the standardized tests of Terman. If a child of any age is able to perform all the tests that ordinarily are achieved by 75% of the children of 6 to 7 years, he is classed as of that age. Thus a 4 year old child, a 6 year old, and an 8 year old, may all achieve the same mental age of 6 years. It is patent that the difference between their chronological (actual) ages and their mental ages represents real differences in mental function at the time of examination.

In order to evaluate the relations between the Chronological Age (C. A.) and the Mental Age (M. A.), the Intelligence Quotient (I. Q.) is employed. The I. Q. is the ratio between the mental age and the chronological age stated in months as an equation,  $I. Q. = \frac{M.A.}{C.A.}$ . Thus, in the

three instances cited, the I. Q. is  $\frac{72}{48}$ ,  $\frac{72}{72}$ ,  $\frac{72}{96}$ , and we have I. Q.'s 150, 100, 75. It is manifest that a 6 year body and a 6 year mind present absolute normality. Patently, a 4 year body and a 6 year mind would represent a tremendous psychic superiority, as shown in the I. Q. 150. And, likewise, 8 years of existence, with only a 6 year mental power suggests a weakness in mental development, as measured by the I. Q. of 75. This does not necessarily mean that the 4 year old actually knows more than the 8 year old, though this may be true. It does mean that the inherent capacity of the 4 year old for acquiring the same type of educational material is at a parity with that of the 8 year old at the time of testing. It indicates, however, beyond a doubt, that the mental functioning and inherent cerebral processes of the 4 year old are superior in acuity, co-ordination, and control to those of the 6 year old; that the 8 year old has a mental endowment below that of the 6 year old, and tremendously inferior to that of the 4 year old.

Merely stating an I. Q. gives inadequate information. To illustrate: each of three children has an I. Q. of 125. It is patent that they are all above the average of cerebral power, but for what class in school are they fitted? This cannot be determined without knowing either the C. A.,



## 76 The Challenge of Childhood

or the M. A. If one states C. A. 6 with I. Q. 125, there is then some light upon the subject, as there is in noting I. Q. 125 with M. A. 8. There is a definite value, however, in the I. Q. as a working figure to indicate relative brightness, as may be judged from the following table of descriptive equivalents for varying levels of the I. Q.

Mental power, in its quantitative and qualitative expression, extends from a vegetative zero to an undetermined infinity.

### VALUES ASCRIBED TO THE I. Q.

Below 25	—idiot
25- 50	—imbecile
50- 70	—moron
70- 80	—borderline of mental deficiency
80- 90	—dullness
90-110	—normal (average mentality)
110-120	—superior
120-140	—very superior
140 and above	—“near” genius or genius

The terms applied suggest the need for thought in interpreting the I. Q., particularly for the 70-80 group, or those just above or just below any level. To term a child a moron, with I. Q. 69 at a single examination, is irrational and unjust, particularly if he is foreign born or comes from a home where English is the real foreign language. It is valuable, therefore, to supplement the determined I. Q. with the facts concerning family history, past medical experiences, school history, and any other items that may aid in reaching the soundest and fairest conclusions. It is often cruel and unwarranted to stigmatize a child as feeble-minded only on the basis of a single intelligence test.

Thus far I have dwelt upon individual testing rather than the group tests such as those so successfully used as a rough sieving process during the World War. The group test is less accurate but serves as a means of rough discrimination of capacities. For mass examination it has many advantages, in economy of time, range of activity that may be tested, and facility of utilization. In the last analysis, it is less dependable as a criterion for final judgment. In considering the mental problems of childhood, only the individual test merits consideration for guidance.

Owing to linguistic difficulties, deafness, mutism, or other

## Intellectual Problems—Introduction 77

handicap, the tests that involve language may be distinctly disadvantageous. To overcome this difficulty it is necessary to employ tests that depend upon performances requiring little or no verbal direction. Valuable performance scales are those of Pintner-Paterson, and the maze tests of Porteus. The correlations of these to the Terman tests are high, and their specific differences give valuable information. It is desirable to submit each child to the three sets of tests for the variety of insight they give into mental processes.

Further, it is highly advantageous to use achievement tests, not merely in connection with the problems of actual school grading, but for the purpose of detecting the types of error that demonstrate process weaknesses. For this purpose, each school system demands a special series of graded tests representing the new material of each grade. For general purposes one may employ standard tests, as the Stanford achievement tests, the Courtis arithmetic, the Monroe silent reading, the Ayres spelling list, the Thorndike writing scale, and the Starch tests for speed in reading and reproduction of content, etc.

Tests in special school subjects are almost innumerable, but they should be utilized cautiously, and only in the light of the degree and accuracy of their standardization. For measuring school progress and teaching efficiency, a battery of tests, covering the essential subjects, may be used in the manner carefully described by McCall for class testing, but these are merely for the guidance of the teacher and supervising officials. The results are helpful, however, in indicating special children far above or below the class median of accomplishment. These children should then become the subjects of special study, to determine their particular intellectual needs and educational requirements.

In interpreting the intelligence quotient or mental age, it is requisite to know the basal age: i. e., the highest year at which all the tests are successfully achieved. And it is also necessary to note the distribution of the achieved tests at age levels above the basal age. This sheds much light upon special ability or disability, which is helpful in determining the meaning of the M. A.

# 78 The Challenge of Childhood

In estimating the M. A. the child is given definite credit for each test that he passes at the ages above the basal age. The different tests comprising the group at each level are scored as having the value of 2 months or more each. Hence, passing four tests at the 8 year level with a basal age of 7 years, would make the M. A. 7 years 8 months—usually expressed as  $7\frac{8}{12}$ .

Now it is obvious that two boys, X and Y, each with an M. A. of 10 years, are differently constituted if X has a basal age of 8 years but is able to gain 8 months at the 9 year level, 6 at the 10, 6 at the 12, and 4 at the 14 year level, while Y has a basal age of 6 years and gains 10 months at the 7, 8, and 9 year levels, 8 months at the 10 year, 4 months at the 14 year, and 6 months at the 18 year levels. This difference is more accentuated if one knows that the chronological ages are respectively 8 years and 10 years, or that they are both 10 years. In the first instance the respective I. Q.'s would be 125 and 100, while in the latter instance both would be 100. The superiority of the younger child is patent with an I. Q. of 125, but with both of the same C. A., M. A., and I. Q., their difference can only be appreciated by noting the variation in their basal ages, and by analysis of the tests successfully passed in building up their mental ages. The table below makes this variation more apparent for these two boys. One notes at once that X has consistent power based upon a general capacity at the 8 year level, while Y has a lower level of general power but has some capacity highly developed, as for example, the immediate recall of numbers. Thus their scores would read:

MENTAL AGE LEVEL			Boy X, C. A. 10	Boy Y, C. A. 10
		Basal Age		Basal Age
VI.				10 mos.
VII.				10 mos.
VIII.				10 mos.
IX.				8 mos.
X.		8 mos.		0
XI.		6 mos.		4 mos.
XII.		6 mos.		0
XIII.		4 mos.		6 mos.
XIV.		0		
XV.		0		
XVI.				
XVII.				
XVIII.				
		M. A. 10		M. A. 10
		I. Q. 100		I. Q. 100

## Intellectual Problems—Introduction 79

The school work of these two children is not likely to be in as great agreement as the C. A., M. A., and I. Q. suggest, regardless of all other factors that enter into their intellectual functions.

It is thus evident that mental age is not an absolute measure to be accepted without further information. It is evident that a special ability or disability will raise or lower the M. A., and thus affect the I. Q. It is equally true that a special ability or disability may make or break the child regardless of intelligence quotient. Exceptional mechanical ability may redeem the life of a boy who is unable to learn to read, or skill in needle-work may prevent a moron from becoming a social parasite. On the other hand, special arithmetical disability closes many fields of service to boys otherwise of excellent mental power, just as muscular incoördination limits girls' participation in useful occupations.

Unfortunately school systems are wont to entertain the idea of uniform personality and mental endowment in dealing with the school population. The school should concern itself with the training and education of the instinctive and emotional phases of child life along with its devotion to the cause of intellectual development. Certainly the first step requires an appreciation of the fundamental differences in cerebral endowment. To supply this information, intelligence testing possesses unique value. Furthermore, a knowledge of the relative mental potentials of children opens up a wider range of useful pedagogic service. Individual differences too often are disregarded in the desire to impress uniformity upon all the children in grade, school, or system. For socialized teaching, the differences of children are of greater importance than their likenesses. One easily learns how to discipline, train, or teach a group of uniform minds even though they be as unreasoning and mechanical as Robots. To disclose general intellectual power, intelligence tests are of inestimable value. By means of them it becomes possible to establish rational school grading so that children may avoid the necessity of living lives as school failures. A realization of the mental traits of children enables one to determine upon an individualized approach to their difficulties,

## 80 The Challenge of Childhood

and to devise methods to develop their potentials by making use of their strongest qualities. A knowledge of mental habits along intellectual lines lessens the excuse for poor instruction and provides a basis for that degree of mental hygiene essential for the development of rational thinking, emotional stability, and confidence in self-realization.

For graphic expression of the intellectual status of children a chart is at times useful to indicate not merely the C. A., M. A., and I. Q., but also the relative results from achievement tests. This serves to point out some inequalities of power in the basic branches of formal education. There may be space also to record the actual grade, the theoretical grade for mental age, and the grade in which placement appears wisest. For such purpose the accompanying graphic chart is helpful. In its use, however, one must bear in mind the available facts concerning the physical, mental, and moral defects or peculiarities of the child.

Mental tests contribute significant though, thus far, not determinative facts in relation to vocational fitness and guidance. Moreover, they are absolutely necessary in studying, classifying, and interpreting the phenomena bound up in juvenile delinquency. The I. Q. is not the determinant of delinquency any more than it is the assurance of success or failure in life. It is undeniable, however, that the inherent potentials of a child represent a predetermined trellis upon which he may climb. Lack of opportunity may keep one child at low levels, whereas another will create the opportunity to rise. The degree of cultivation, care, guidance, nurture, education, and training decides to what extent the child is to realize his innate potentials. The nature, pattern, structure, and stability of the child's basic intellectual power can be most usefully utilized only by a study of these characteristics. He cannot rise above his psychic bounds, but he may be helped to reach up towards them.

It is these facts that lead one to place a high value on the power of the intellect to enrich childhood. If as much stress were placed upon the mind of the child as upon his minding, intellectual development would be more easily achieved. Further, by making use of one's knowledge of a child's capacities, it is possible to encourage him to acquire

NAME John St. John

I.Q. - 96-98

CA	MA	PER- FORM- ANCE	READING		SPELL.	ARITH.	PRES- ENT GRADE	THEO- RETI- CAL GRADE	GRADE AD- VISED
			Speed	Compr- hension					
11 <sup>5</sup> 9 <sup>5</sup>	11 <sup>2</sup> 9 <sup>1</sup>								
17	17						XII	XII	XII
16	16						XI	XI	XI
15	15						X	X	X
14	14						IX	IX	IX
13	13						VIII	VIII	VIII
12	12						VII	VII	VII
11	11						VI	VI	VI
10	10						V	V	V
9	9						IV	IV	IV
8	8						III	III	out III
7	7						II	II	II
6	6						I	I	I
5	5						K	K	K
4	4						Pre	Pre	Pre
3	3						K	K	K

DEFECTS AND  
PECULIARITIES
 Physical  
 Mental  
 Moral  
 Scholastic  
 Vocational  
 Industrial

RECOMMENDATIONS

 Remarks:  
 Date Jan. 1, 1922 - Jan. 1, 1924





in four months the school report indicated that the lad was "earnestly trying to do the best work possible for him." Soon after, he was able to read short sentences and was attempting long ones. He had also learned his work in addition and multiplication with some degree of facility.

At the end of the term he was given an opportunity to prove his fitness for a low, graded class, and he attained the level of the third year, second term. His success in the new grade, his diligence, and his good behavior were so noticeable that when it was recommended that he be given part of the day in the regular class and the other half in an ungraded class, the school was glad to make the adjustment. He was able to complete the work of the fourth year.

A re-test of Raphael's mental endowment at the age of  $14\frac{1}{12}$  gave M. A.  $10\frac{3}{12}$ , and I. Q. 73. It is manifest that the flight of three years had had no effect upon his intelligence quotient, which had remained constant. On the other hand, use had been made of his mental potentials so that schooling had resulted in a valuable gain in practical power.

Raphael is now  $14\frac{9}{12}$  years old, and has worked his way into the regular fifth grade. He is able, therefore, to read, to perform the fundamental operations in arithmetic, and to cope with simple problems. The reduction of the emotionally disturbing factor of his brother's progress and comments, together with real assistance at home and an understanding of his limitation, has made it possible for him to achieve sufficient education for most of the common purposes of life.

Were one to base judgment upon his I. Q. alone Raphael would have to be classed as a borderline type, possibly even a high grade moron. But in Raphael's case, as indeed in nearly all cases, there are other factors to be considered which modify and limit the validity of a classification derived solely from an I. Q. At his first examination it was noted that Raphael used his hands well, and a definite facility in handling tools was surmised. As the Stenquist tests for determining mechanical aptitude and ability were not at hand, his mother was advised to get him some good

## 82 The Challenge of Childhood

habits of thinking which will enable him to achieve a greater degree of control of conduct; accord with custom and tradition is not implied, but rather a recognition of the justice of some social pressure for the sake of its effect upon individual living.

The intellectual progress of man has been made, not by routine acceptances, but by their challenge. Doubt, questioning, disbelief, search for the new, novel, and unknown call for the use of the mind. One finds a great predominance of intellectual capacity of a general nature and a small differentiate genius from mediocrity. The blind musician, the deaf cabinet maker, the "idiot savant," the lightning calculator, the illiterate financial genius, the mute chess player, the poet, the playwright, the logician, the research worker, the inventor, the painter, the sculptor, and countless others represent the triumph of inherent mental powers. The degree of success attained is affected by a large number of environing conditions involving all of life, but it is eminently true that one cannot make a silk purse out of a sow's ear. The individual fire may be a glow, a spark, or a flame. Helen Keller had inherent mental capacity, though rarely used channels of perception were employed to cause the current of her thought to flow freely. Her mental potentials would have been the same, though under other circumstances she might have reached maturity merely deaf, mute, and blind.

The processes of re-education of the cripples of the war, or of civil life demonstrate the factors of safety for psychic growth. A significant lesson exists in the evidence that under present conditions we are far from accomplishing the results that are warranted by the native intelligence of children.

From this point of view, it is helpful to consider a variety of specific intellectual problems, indicating the past and present, but fixing our attention even more upon the future—even though without a sense of security in prophecy. It is less culpable to err as the result of poor judgment than from indifference, or from an unsympathetic attitude toward the man in the making out of his latent original endowments. What sort of man is the child fathering? How

## Intellectual Problems—Introduction 83

far can we shed light on this? Certainly our preliminary efforts must be spent upon securing a better understanding of the child. Truly, "By their fruits shall ye know them," but the careful botanist knows the flowers, and a Burbank can almost predict characteristics of the fruit from the seed that is planted in soil adapted to its needs. In children, we have an opportunity of studying the flowering mind and noting the source of the seed, with a view to adjusting the environing soil. The promise of future conduct is to be found in present habits. The intellect is one of the vital elements in establishing social character.

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10—Raphael

**R**APHAEL SANTIA had attacks of temper.

C. A. 11 years, M. A. 7 11/12 years, I. Q. 72.

VII	Basal age	Score
VIII	.....	8 mos.
IX	.....	0
X	.....	3 mos.

Raphael Santia came from a nice Italian home where English was well spoken. Although a gentle boy of fine appearance, he was given to attacks of temper in which he exhibited both verbal and muscular activity. Investigation soon revealed the cause of his anomalous conduct. Raphael was being tortured into justifiable rage by the epithets of inferiority hurled at him by a younger brother. He very properly resented being called "fool" and "stupid" upon all occasions.

Though Raphael had been at school for five years he could scarcely read. He was in an ungraded class in which school marks indicated good conduct, excellent effort, but poor proficiency. On the other hand, the younger brother was in the fourth grade, keen, active-minded, and asserting his superiority by hurling derogatory references at his older brother.

The cause of Raphael's emotional disturbance undoubtedly lay in the unequal intellectual endowment of the two brothers. Therefore, as a point of departure, the younger brother was urged to put his superiority to a constructive rather than to a destructive use. It was pointed out to him that, since he was no more responsible for his ability than Raphael was responsible for his lack of it, to call Raphael names was hardly fair, but that he might make good use of his superior skill by helping Raphael learn to read. He conceded the point, and his aid was forthcoming.

The effect upon Raphael was almost immediate. With-

in four months the school report indicated that the lad was "earnestly trying to do the best work possible for him." Soon after, he was able to read short sentences and was attempting long ones. He had also learned his work in addition and multiplication with some degree of facility.

At the end of the term he was given an opportunity to prove his fitness for a low, graded class, and he attained the level of the third year, second term. His success in the new grade, his diligence, and his good behavior were so noticeable that when it was recommended that he be given part of the day in the regular class and the other half in an ungraded class, the school was glad to make the adjustment. He was able to complete the work of the fourth year.

A re-test of Raphael's mental endowment at the age of  $14\frac{1}{2}$  gave M. A.  $10\frac{3}{4}$ , and I. Q. 73. It is manifest that the flight of three years had had no effect upon his intelligence quotient, which had remained constant. On the other hand, use had been made of his mental potentials so that schooling had resulted in a valuable gain in practical power.

Raphael is now  $14\frac{9}{12}$  years old, and has worked his way into the regular fifth grade. He is able, therefore, to read, to perform the fundamental operations in arithmetic, and to cope with simple problems. The reduction of the emotionally disturbing factor of his brother's progress and comments, together with real assistance at home and an understanding of his limitation, has made it possible for him to achieve sufficient education for most of the common purposes of life.

Were one to base judgment upon his I. Q. alone Raphael would have to be classed as a borderline type, possibly even a high grade moron. But in Raphael's case, as indeed in nearly all cases, there are other factors to be considered which modify and limit the validity of a classification derived solely from an I. Q. At his first examination it was noted that Raphael used his hands well, and a definite facility in handling tools was surmised. As the Stenquist tests for determining mechanical aptitude and ability were not at hand, his mother was advised to get him some good



## 86 The Challenge of Childhood

tools, wood, nuts, screws, etc., and to note what he could and would do with them. It took but little time for him to demonstrate that he had the capacity to become an excellent carpenter and cabinet maker. As a result of his advance in academic studies and, even more, of his training in the management of tools along constructive lines, it is now no longer proper to classify Raphael as feeble-minded in spite of his I. Q. of only 72-73.

The tendency to term children "feeble-minded" requires curbing. The development of the mind is a continuous process, and the lower limits of dull-normal mental endowment have been arbitrarily fixed. Even establishing 70-75 I. Q. as dull borderline types does not give sufficient variation to base an opinion upon a single examination, or without considering other evidence.

As a working definition of feeble-mindedness I am willing to accept that of the Royal Commission on Feeble-mindedness: "One who is capable of earning a living under favorable conditions, but is incapable from birth, or from an early age, (a) of competing on equal terms with his normal fellows: or, (b) of managing himself or his affairs with ordinary prudence." Another helpful definition is that of Porteus: "A feeble-minded person is one who, by reason of mental defects, other than sensory, cannot attain to self-management and self-support to the degree of social sufficiency."

By these standards Raphael, in all fairness, may be called dull but scarcely feeble-minded. His appearance and posture are both good; he is refined, gentle, self-controlled, energetic, cooperative, honest, industrious; he accepts advice, but is not too easily led. His period of compulsory school training has been advantageously employed; his mental potentials have been cultivated with cooperative diligence by his teachers, his family, and by the lad himself. He can read, write, figure, and measure to the extent that this is necessary for most forms of industrial work. He has been trained to carry out directions, and in keeping accounts. He has learned the value of money by making family purchases and by caring for a small allowance. He possesses ordinary prudence in the management of his own affairs. He has become an indus-

trial asset; by the time he is sixteen years old he will be fitted for apprenticeship in one of several trades that yield excellent wages. He will be out of the unskilled labor group, and prepared to compete or coöperate in the workshop with fellows of higher inherent mental power. Raphael is not the isolated incompetent that is always implicit in the designation "feeble-minded." He has gained self-confidence and self-respect; he is a member of a social group, aware of his social responsibilities.

One may question whether all this could have been said if the necessary educational adjustments had not been made. Had Raphael continued solely in an ungraded class some of his valuable personality traits might not have been developed. By giving him some experience with normals in regular grades he gained a quality which would have been denied him had his only grade companions been children of definite feeble-mindedness. He escaped a stigmatization which would have been a serious hazard. By combining the manual work of the ungraded class with the formal academic studies of the ordinary grade, he was given the opportunity to secure a large measure of special training and to demonstrate his particular constructive fitness. He thus acquired not merely an industrial leverage but a sense of adequacy through a successful accomplishment far above the level of his co-workers.

Clearly, events have proved the supreme unwisdom of subjecting such a child to pre-destined failure. The mentally feeble-minded child need not become the socially feeble-minded adult if there is a timely appreciation of his special problems and wise recourse to proper vocational guidance, direction, and education.

## II—John

THERE was a discrepancy between John's grading in school and both his mental and chronological ages.

C. A. 11 11/12, M. A. 8 7/12, I. Q. 72.

	Basal age	Score
VII		6 mos.
VIII		6 "
IX		6 "
X		4 "
XII		3 "

## 88 The Challenge of Childhood

John's I. Q. would suggest a borderline type, with some degree of emphasis on the likelihood of potential feeble-mindedness. His basal age was seven years with no scattering at higher levels, but a regular decrease of power. According to his C. A. he should have been in the sixth grade; his M. A. suggested fitness for the third grade; actually he was in the fifth grade, second term, and doing average work. His school grading placed him among children with the median age 10-11 years, and therefore, theoretically, he was retarded only one year.

The discrepancy between John's mental age and his placement in school challenged inquiry. Frequently children of weak mental potentials are carried along when they are not fully fitted for the next grade. A dull boy, who is a constant disciplinary problem, may be held back as a punishment, be obliged to repeat a grade on the basis of failure to acquire competency in subject matter during the term, or be pushed along to save a teacher's nerves.

Performance tests gave John a median mental age of eight years. His vocabulary was of the eighth year type. His reading age was  $8\frac{1}{2}$  years. His power of association was approximately at the tenth year level. Reasoning power was not highly developed for his C. A. Thus far, there is little explanation of his average work in the second term of the fifth grade. When practical achievement tests were given he was successful with advanced fifth grade arithmetic and the beginning of fifth grade spelling. He wrote legibly and freely, and he had no difficulty in expressing his ideas correctly, though somewhat slowly.

John's inherent mental capacity was supplemented by interest, enthusiasm, diligence, and an ambition to succeed. He was a dull-minded plodder who applied himself assiduously to his daily school tasks and home work. Because he possessed an irresistible determination John devoted more time to his studies than the average child, and so was able to overcome his inherent slowness and dullness. His school placement was a record of genuine achievement. As a matter of fact he was successfully competing in school with children who, though only slightly younger than himself, were on the average of far higher mental age. While somewhat larger than many of the boys he was not of the

overgrown type. As there were larger and older boys in the same grade John was not physically conspicuous or subject to unpleasant contrast. He had barely entered into adolescence, and he was physically vigorous. Because he belonged to a cultured family his home guidance stimulated him and gave him the intelligent understanding necessary for his mental poise and development. There was no suggestion of emotional instability. As the result of all these factors this youngster made good and secured his promotion to the sixth grade.

But as his school work progresses there will probably be a falling off in his success, because the subject matter will require an increasing measure of study. For this, time will be lacking, and the spread of his efforts will result in a lessened proportion of accumulated, retained information. His slow speed in reading will become a greater handicap as the higher branches of learning demand more dependence upon this means of acquiring knowledge. Further, his indicated poor reasoning powers will be more apparent as there comes a larger need for their use. In all probability his mental powers will develop irregularly; he will show special weakness in one or more subjects without marked strength in any. The fact that he appears to be strongest in arithmetic is of considerable encouragement, as this is the subject upon which most stress is placed as an index of mental power. As a rule, much is forgiven if a boy is able to grasp his mathematical problems, if he spells fairly well, writes legibly, and gives no reason for concern about his conduct.

Prophecy is difficult, but as John, by dint of personality rather than through his native intelligence, has already achieved a school success, it is probable that he will be able to complete the elementary school even though it may be necessary for him to repeat one or more grades. Adolescent growth will increase his physical strength and possibly bring with it new elements of power and a stronger motivating force that will spur him on to graduation. But it is doubtful, even with the additional strength of adolescent life, if he will be able to grapple successfully with high school work. And unless there is a substantial chance of success it would be unwise to expose the boy to a failure

## 90 The Challenge of Childhood

which would bring no compensation in training or stimulation. It would be far better to ascertain the lines of his ambition, at present uncrystallized, and to direct his further education into channels which will develop for him assets of practical value.

Is this boy to be regarded as feeble-minded? Though there is convincing evidence of a dull mind, its powers are being fully utilized. He has a determined will and a forceful personality. And these things work together for the salvation of a youth who deserves higher credit than younger boys, with I. Q.'s of 100 or 125, who do not have to struggle to satisfy school standards because they can make progress without effort.

### 12—Rosa

**R**OSA is said to draw pictures of brides all day, and her sexual ideation is questioned.

C. A. 11 8/12, M. A. 8 4/12, I. Q. 71.		
VI	Basal age	Score
VII		10 mos.
VIII		10 "
IX		8 "

Rosa's C. A. was common to the sixth grade, but her M. A. evidenced the mental machinery to cope with only the beginnings of the third grade. She had been promoted to the advanced fifth grade when, as a matter of fact, she had not assimilated the work required in the third grade. All efforts of her fifth grade teacher had been as futile as those of previous years.

Rosa's advancement through the regular grades had been a serious, pedagogic error, totally unjustified by her school record. Her reading was of inferior type, as were arithmetic and spelling. The child was being dragged far beyond her intellectual depths. There was no ungraded class in the school she attended and, in consequence, no special attempt had been made to grade her properly. In fact, just as her problem was being investigated, she was promoted to the sixth grade on the theory that she might be stimulated to greater effort by more

difficult subject matter. Rosa's teacher reported, "Rosa is deficient in everything at school, but likes to sit and draw pictures of brides."

This teacher, who was engaged in imparting knowledge to a large class, was not necessarily unsympathetic, but naturally she believed that school time should be devoted to the common branches and not wasted in drawings which, to her, seemed idle. Rosa, however, was employing the school day to her fullest advantage by ignoring the babble about fractions; she was busily engaged in working out her salvation without assistance. The pictures she drew were not brides, nor was there a sexual content in her occupation. She drew because there was a creative urge, sustained by a moderate ability to place her visions before others. Her artistic power was not great; nevertheless she was able to practise during school hours the type of work for which she was most fitted, and it had a correspondingly vital interest. Her busy pencil delineated Nell Brinkley heads with long-lashed eyes, of little variation save in the arrangement of the hair. Her imaged ladies were dressed, however, in simple frocks, in opera gowns and capes, in graduation dresses, riding habits, and bridal finery. Her imagination was sufficiently creative to yield new patterns, ornamentations, and styles for all occasions. Her drawing showed a definite power in costume designing. Rosa was not idling; she was studying an art that has some industrial, economic, and social value. She was preparing herself for the fulfilment of her life's ambition to become a dressmaker. And for what was her school work preparing her?—to graduate from school unlearned and untaught.

It did not simplify things for Rosa to have a junior sister of keener mind in the same grade. Nor was the younger sister's presence an incentive to Rosa to make a greater effort, for she had accepted defeat in school and was already ignoring educational values entirely.

Her basal age of six years indicated that her general intellectual power was low, and her M. A. of  $8\frac{1}{12}$  suggested the inadvisability of allowing her to continue to grapple with formal education on the basis already proven



## 92 The Challenge of Childhood

useless. Her general mental endowment was that of a high grade moron, and to have continued applying the unwise pedagogic methods by which her school life had been controlled might have made her a really feeble-minded child, in the sense of social inadequacy. Fortunately for Rosa, she possessed some talent for drawing. It was evident that to save her from social wreckage this special ability must be seized upon and developed.

It appeared desirable to transfer Rosa to a school where the advantages of an ungraded class might be secured. The curriculum outlined for her demanded drawing, needlework, the making of dress patterns, and the uniting of all these phases of work in relation to her own creations. These branches were to be used as motives for reading and arithmetic, which she would require for reading pattern directions, making measurements, keeping accounts, and doing other forms of work needed by a dressmaker.

As Rosa is quiet, pleasant, modest, retiring, and far from aggressive, she probably will not become a successful employing dressmaker. But given three or four years more in the elementary school and some special training to develop her talent, she undoubtedly will become a valuable worker. If, with her adolescent evolution, Rosa's creative ability takes on a substantial quality, and her drawing technic is adequate to reveal her ideas, she may be able to achieve a financial success far greater than her younger sister, who, though mentally more capable, lacks any outstanding talent.

It seems wise to leave the determination of Rosa's ultimate mental gradation until this plan of vocational guidance has been given a fair trial. The stimulation of her special interests may decrease any inhibiting emotional elements, and thus allow a fuller expression of her mental capacity. Under these circumstances, a future test of her intelligence may reveal an intelligence quotient which will remove her from the category of borderliners. But even if at maturity Rosa's mental age is only eleven years, her particular ability will have so greatly augmented her social efficiency that she will be a useful member of society.

## 13—Robert

ROBERT had difficulty in reading and was alleged to be lacking in concentration and persistence.

- C. A. 11 years, M. A. 7 11/12 years, I. Q. 72.

VI	Basal age	Score
VII		10 mos.
VIII		8 "
IX		4 "

Robert's I. Q. indicated a normal general endowment of average type. He showed strength in vocabulary, rhyming, general information, and reasoning, with a superior auditory memory for immediate and remote events. His verbal associations were of rapid type, and evidenced a considerable mental content. His visual memory was definitely weak in some directions, particularly in relation to symbols, words, and figures, though slightly better with numbers. He was unable to read despite one and one-half years' experience in a private school. His vigorous, active, rapid imagination rushed to the forefront in defense, and in place of reading the page as printed, he invented the story as he went through the form of reading. The word "city" was read as "cat," "dog" as "girl," and isolated words were not identified as the same on different occasions. In the same manner his spelling was of a peculiar type—"boys, b-o-s"; "man, w-h-i-o"; "dog, s-o-u". He could not spell his own name, though he attempted it, making different letter combinations on different days. Letter recognition was equally faulty; g—b; d—c; w—j; v—f; c—e; k—q; n—i. "C" was not recognized when written, but when printed was called "e". "B" was termed "f" when written but was recognized in printed form.

At the same time, it was immaterial to him whether the letters were printed in correct or reversed form. B or Ɱ, c or ɔ, k' or ʌ, were identified with equal facility and success. This peculiar power was exhibited with figures and numbers. He recognized 7 and ʌ, 5 and 2, 3 and 8, 6 and 9, with equal accuracy; 31 was the same as 18, 23 as 82. He read both forms with the same rapidity. He could do a little work of the first grade in arithmetic. In writing, Robert was ambidextrous, and he made reversals

## 94 The Challenge of Childhood

of letters and numbers with both hands, though to a greater extent with his left hand. His drawing ability was marked, and was characterized by free movements in making interesting and varied designs.

An examination of his eyes revealed a normal optical apparatus as far as could be determined, without any limitation of the color fields.

His I. Q. was misleading because, despite its indication of normal intelligence, there was a marked weakness that was interfering with his school progress. He was not lacking in concentration and persistence, but was handicapped by a congenital cerebral deficiency whose origin is unknown. He possessed a weakness of the word centers. There was no difficulty on the motor side of speech, as he had a free flow of words and expressed his ideas without difficulty. Whether his visual speech center was affected, or association fibers had failed to develop, is unknown. There was a definite lack of association of sounds with the forms of letters and words, and considerable slowness in associating symbols. He had a relatively serious incapacity, which is frequently termed "congenital word blindness." The suitability of this term may be questioned, but for practical purposes it is used to denote some weakness of the cortical centers dealing with the acquisition of written and printed language and numbers.

Furthermore, as Robert was naturally left-handed and the school had endeavored to make him use his right hand for all school work, he had become the victim of a mental confusion that greatly increased his congenital disability. He had two dissimilar mental impressions for the same idea. This was manifest in his unitary interpretation of correct and reversed figures, letters, numbers, and words.

Inasmuch as reading and arithmetic form the basis of scholastic work, it was natural that Robert's deficiencies in these subjects should have brought upon him the accusation of a lack of concentration and persistence. This is particularly natural in view of the fact that Robert was, in all respects but one, a child of normal intellectual endowment. Robert's failures in reading and arithmetic, however, were not due to any moral perversity or deficiency. Robert simply could not learn reading and arithmetic as these sub-

jects were being taught him in school. His special mental dysfunction placed him behind an impenetrable wall which he could neither break through nor climb over. When one is confronted with such a wall it is natural to walk off in another direction. Robert, in making use of his imagination to supply the text he could not read, had done just that. And in so doing he had unconsciously waved the flag of distress which had called attention to the real cause of his trouble. This discovery could have, and should have been made within the first few months of his school life. But it was a fortunate circumstance that it was not delayed beyond a year and a half. For, obviously, the comparatively early attention to his difficulty has given Robert an immense advantage.

In attacking Robert's case it was essential to call attention to the fact that he was in all respects a normal child with a special disability. His entire scheme of education and treatment was therefore conditioned by the inherent peculiarities of this disability. It was obvious that he would require a high degree of individual attention, preferably under the direction of a competent, patient, and understanding tutor.

As has been indicated, Robert's failure in school was due specifically to his inability to absorb the subjects as they were taught. Probably three-quarters of all educational material is presented to the eye. But Robert was congenitally incapable of absorbing material in that way. Therefore it was necessary to educate him as far as possible through his sense of hearing, which in his case was made less difficult by reason of his strong auditory memory.

Of course the building up of Robert's visual memory is essential to his ultimate success. Hence it was not advisable to ignore this phase of his education. But, on the other hand, too great emphasis could not be placed upon reading because of his tendency to phantasy, which was already leading him to tell tales of questionable veracity.

In general, the regimen advocated was to make use of his auditory powers both for imparting elementary knowledge and as a tool for the ultimate development of his visual memory. The details of this scheme as outlined were as follows:

## 96 The Challenge of Childhood

Robert must be read to, and everything must be explained to him; large amounts of nature material should be used. His drawing ability should be developed; he should be taught to draw and recall designs, including printed letters. It is preferable to teach him to print letters than to write them. In this way he will gain but a single visual image, which, incidentally, will be of service to him in acquiring power over the printed page. By this means also his dual mental images will be reduced more rapidly to one. He should be drilled in tracing letters and numbers. He should be permitted to use his left hand without restriction. But if he tries to be ambidextrous for ordinary manual work there is no reason for interference. As phonetic drills call for close correlation with printing and tracing phonograms and for sounding them carefully, there should be employed a simple reader which uses no more than three hundred words, with constant repetition. Progress in the use of such a book should be no more rapid than the rate of Robert's increasing power of word recognition. These words should serve as the basis of printing, copying, and phonetic drills. All the senses should be brought to the support of the weak cortical centers.

Arithmetical combinations may be taught through the auditory approach, supplemented by practice in making figures correctly, reading them accurately, and building up the number concepts concretely. He requires encouragement in repeating the content of paragraphs and short stories, memorizing brief, simple poems, and playing games that involve the use of words and numbers—Lotto, dominoes, anagrams, an abacus, and a spelling frame will prove helpful devices.

It is hardly necessary to stress the value of keeping Robert in contact with a group of normal children while he is securing individual instruction. It would be unfortunate to isolate him for educational purposes, as there is a vigorous necessity for the training of his independence and self-control, and these things are derived from the normal companionship of other children. In order to normalize his method of living, and to save him from the feeling that he is tremendously different from other children and

unable to have the opportunities they enjoy, his games, dances, rhythmic work, drawing, singing, manual work, and free play should be with some class of children of about his age.

If Robert had a pronounced physical handicap he would be more likely to secure the proper educational adjustment under normal environment. But because his deficiency chances to be more intangible, he should not be further penalized. He is bound to be broken on the pedagogic wheel unless his particular variations are accepted, and he is treated accordingly.

The execution of this program was simplified by the fact that Robert is the child of solicitous, thoughtful parents, capable of giving him every advantage. If he lived in a home of ignorance, with impatient poverty surrounding and impeding his progress, his future would not be so bright. As it is, the outcome is impossible to predict. The degree to which the cortical cells will respond to the special training remains conjectural, though some slight progress during the past six months gives promise of a real gain in the direction of improved power to read, figure, spell, and write.

Thus the foundations of formal education are being slowly laid by a special teacher in a private school. By utilizing all the strength of his cerebral endowment in such a way as to atone for its weakness, Robert may become a capable, useful, studious, creative being. The knowledge of his limited capacity and special disability, his power in drawing, and his compensatory auditory memory serve to protect his intellect, to guide it, and to direct his activities into channels that will promote his welfare for the present and the future.

#### 14—Joseph

JOSEPH was unhappy in the sixth grade, and exhibited considerable irritability.

C. A. 15 3/12, M. A. 11 11/12, I. Q. 78.	
X	Basal age
XII	Score
XIV	15 mos.
	8 "



## 98 The Challenge of Childhood

Joseph was a friendly looking boy, five feet eight and a half inches tall, and weighing one hundred and forty-eight pounds. He was therefore somewhat taller than the average adult American, and weighed as much as the average adult of his height. This abnormality of size and weight was the misfortune that had made life unbearable for him. Being correctly graded for his mental age, he was four years retarded pedagogically and the butt of the derision of the far smaller boys of his class. He was making little progress in school. Twice he had been in an opportunity class to save himself from demotion.

Undoubtedly he was a trial to his teacher and a dead weight on the class. His daily failure decreased their mutual interest. Indeed, he actively disliked his teacher because she had publicly condemned him for stupidity, laziness, and worthlessness. Needless to say, his school work no longer made any appeal to him, but was in fact the chief source of his unhappiness and discontent. He reacted to the criticism of his teacher and the taunts of his schoolmates with excitability and restless irritability. But there was no indication that Joseph was by nature emotionally unstable. The distribution of tests performed above the basal age showed none of the scattering so common to emotionally unstable children. He was, however, in the midst of adolescence, at the stage when the peaks of emotional excitation are highest and sharpest. This circumstance, added to the dullness of his mental powers and the over-development of his physique, in connection with the constant futile pressure being placed on him to keep up in the school race, is certainly sufficient to account for Joseph's emotional reactions.

But inquiry into his past history offered a further elucidation of his problem.

Joseph had been born on a farm, and had attended an ungraded rural school where he had had the oversight of a patient teacher, who had recognized that Joseph was not bright. The farm had been his pleasure; the rural setting had given him an opportunity to work and to utilize his physical fitness. On the farm he had been able to triumph over the boys who could conquer him in formal subjects. This outlet for energies, satisfactions, and self-accomplish-

ments had safeguarded his evolution. Then he had been transferred to the city where he had been graded properly in school according to his mental age, but deprived of all chance to establish himself as a worker. The school he attended afforded no manual work save for those in an ungraded class, and Joseph was deemed too old to be placed in an ungraded class. But even there he would have received little benefit from the training; the situation, in fact, would have been more difficult to endure, as his self-respect would have received a severe blow at being placed with real mental defectives.

It is worth while to recall that there are five ages of childhood: chronological age, mental age, pedagogic age, anatomic age, and physiologic age. The two last mentioned are approximations based upon bone development, general height, weight, and pubescence. Social age may be added to the list but its standards are inadequately defined for rating children accurately.

Usually there appears to be some marked harmony between physical and mental vigor. At the same time one notes a large proportion of children with high mental and pedagogic age accompanied by small body and slow physiological maturation. These children present difficulties, particularly along emotional and social lines, but most of all in connection with the adjustments necessary in secondary schools and colleges, where the athletic interests are considered of paramount importance. In passing judgment, therefore, upon the problems of educational placement, due recognition must be given the part that each type of age plays in connection with the child, and his general or particular environment.

I recall a wise mother whose dull daughter was fourteen years old while her mental age was about eleven years. She was in the fifth grade. The daughter was trained to say that she was twelve years old. Regardless of the moral side of this fiction, the girl was protected against the stigmatization of stupidity and a consequent feeling of failure, not to mention the criticisms and abuse of younger children. The fiction was believable because the apparent anatomic age was not above twelve years, and the physiologic age, as marked by the development of the

## 100 The Challenge of Childhood

breasts and pubescence, was below that common among twelve year olds.

Joseph had a C. A.  $15\frac{3}{12}$ , M. A.  $11\frac{1}{12}$ , P. A. 11, A. A. 18, Ph. A. 16. During adolescence these contrasts in age are frequently more significant than in Joseph, but it is patent that in Joseph one was dealing with a strong, vigorous body which had matured early, and that the physical endowment had not merely outstripped his latent mental powers, but had grown to be a veritable handicap to the progress of his pedagogic age. Therefore an adjustment was required that would minimize the effects of his physical development or utilize it more fully. By contrast, his mental dullness was accentuated, and emphasis was directed towards it. This would not have happened had he been an under-developed boy with retarded adolescence. His mental age could not catch up to anatomic or physiologic age, but his character was being moulded by the interaction of all of these age factors.

The boy was manly, eager, coöperative, persistent, and he merited an escape from the imprisoning system. When a way out was suggested to him he feared that the school principal would not aid him, and even hesitated to go to her with a special note. But the principal was intelligent, sympathetic, understanding, and anxious to facilitate the training of all children in accordance with their potentials and requirements. By means of her intervention Joseph was transferred to a pre-vocational school where he would have a chance to learn the fundamentals of trade training. His joy was real, and his smiling face reflected a release from an educational dungeon.

Performance tests yielded Joseph a median mental age of ten years, so there is no promise that he will become a great industrial success. But his physical development and personality will give him a real chance for apprenticeship when he finally gives up formal schooling. It would have been better for Joseph to have remained on the farm where he had found pleasure, education, and serenity. There his dullness would not have exposed him so greatly to the cruelties of youth, and there his experience would have given him an immediate industrial, economic, and social value in the agricultural field.

## 15—Frank

**F**RANK had been in school for almost five years, but despite the assistance of a tutor he had reached only the third grade.

C. A. 9 5/12, M. A. 9 1/12, I. Q. 96.

VIII	Basal age	Score
IX		6 mos.
X		4 "
XII		3 "

Frank's I. Q. suggested an average mental endowment. Children of his C. A. and M. A. are usually beginning the fourth grade, but Frank, though he had been almost five years in school and had received the assistance of a tutor, was only in the third grade. It seemed evident that for some reason his mental powers were not being completely utilized.

Inquiry revealed a rather marked and significant unevenness in his school work. He read with painful difficulty and could not grapple successfully with even first grade material. His speed was slow, many words were mispronounced, and some were omitted. On the other hand, his spelling was of excellent quality, and there was no difficulty with words taught in the advanced fourth grade. His arithmetical work was exceedingly inaccurate. His knowledge of principles and fundamental combinations was of the standard expected at the end of the second grade. Frank could thus be graded: reading speed first grade, arithmetic third grade, spelling fifth grade, writing second grade mid-term.

The record of Frank's general deportment was also significant. He was noticeably nervous and restless, and to some degree inattentive. He lacked interest in his studies and therefore applied himself poorly to his daily task.

From the nature of this evidence there arose at once a strong suspicion concerning Frank's visual perceptions. The oculist's report amply confirmed these suspicions. Frank had a severe hyperopic astigmatism for which glasses were ordered to be worn constantly.

Two years later it was quite evident that Frank's educa-

## 102 The Challenge of Childhood

tional retardation had been due solely to his visual errors. Since these had been corrected his progress had been definite and reassuring. Re-tests at this time, with a C. A.  $11\frac{5}{12}$ , revealed M. A.  $11\frac{3}{12}$ , I. Q. 98, showing the expected constancy of the I. Q. But reading tests revealed a speed in reading fifth grade material such as is expected at the beginning of that grade and an ability to reproduce the content of the matter read on a par with the median ability at the beginning of the sixth grade. His arithmetic performance evidenced capability through the fifth grade, with a slight slowness in his multiplication tables.

For purposes of contrast, note the progress during the two years:

	Reading	Arithmetic	Spelling
C. A. 9 $\frac{5}{12}$	1st year	3rd year	5th year
Beginning third grade with difficulty.			
C. A. 11 $\frac{5}{12}$	5th year	6th year	7th year
Beginning fifth grade with ease.			

Furthermore, there had been a noteworthy diminution of Frank's motor restlessness; his interest in his work and his application to it had been restored to normal.

At this stage of his educational development it was decided to attempt to prepare Frank for the seventh grade within the year, so that he could take up the work warranted by his mental age. This goal was achieved. Frank's educational progress was completely harmonized with his inherent mental capacities.

It is obvious that defective visual channels had been solely responsible for the previous lack of harmony between his intelligence and his educational progress. Frank's trouble had not been a special educational disability but an easily correctible functional interference with sense impressions. It should have been suspected at an earlier age, when his difficulty in reading first was noted. But had the corrective glasses not been secured as soon as they were there would have been a progressive and cumulative retardation in his school work, which eventually must have aroused suspicions concerning his inherent mental ability. Thus, through failure properly to diagnose his problem, a boy might have been stigmatized and handicapped by a suspicion of mental deficiency.

This should suffice to indicate the extreme importance of careful examination of vision and hearing at the earliest opportunity. It is obvious that to be educable a child must possess, not only an intellect capable of receiving and interpreting sensory impressions, but sense organs capable of registering objective phenomena adequately and correctly. Eyes and ears are of the utmost importance to education, and their functional potentials should be determined if possible before regular grade attendance is begun. Group testing of eyes and ears is practically impossible, and even when all children are given a routine medical examination before entering school, some further provision must be made to secure visual and auditory tests to supplement the facts ordinarily sought. From an educational point of view, the discovery of myopia, hyperopia, astigmatism, nystagmus, trachoma, and similar ocular disturbances is more valuable and significant than noting enlarged tonsils, lateral curvature, flat foot, enlarged glands, non-contagious diseases of the skin, and many other defects that condition child's health.

When a child first enters school he should be physically prepared for all that education entails and imposes on him. People who insist that children should always enter school with a sound body too often fail to include sound eyes and ears as essentials of the sound body. Yet the eyes and ears are the guides of the body and the portals to the mind.

## 16—Julian

**J**ULIAN had been playing truant and was about to be sent to a truant school.

C. A. 13 9 1/12, M. A. 13 1/12, I. Q. 95. The median age of the performance tests was 9.5 years.

IX	Basal age	Score
X		10 mos.
XII		21 "
XIV		8 "
XVI		10 "

Julian's school record was not reassuring. In spite of an average I. Q. he was in the seventh grade, one year



## 104 The Challenge of Childhood

retarded for his C. A., having had to repeat the second half of the second, fourth, and fifth grades. An explanation of his mediocre school work lay perhaps in his low basal age of only 9 years.

In studying Julian's case a number of factors were brought to light which must have contributed in varying degrees toward his truancy, though no one was the actual precipitating cause.

He came from a self-respecting family with six children. All of his brothers and sisters were relatively more advanced than Julian. A ten year old was in the fifth grade, a sixteen year old was doing good work in the second year of high school. Both of these children were properly placed for their ages, but as I never tested them it would be unfair for me to say that they were brighter than Julian. However, an eleven year old brother was in the seventh grade with Julian. This boy was clearly one year advanced in his school work. There was, thus, a relative difference of two years in their scholastic attainments on the basis of their chronological ages.

Between Julian and this brother there was an abnormal degree of friction, which was accentuated by the fact that Julian was adolescent while the younger brother as yet showed no signs of maturation. They had frequent quarrels culminating in fistic encounters. At home Julian was often the recipient of corporal punishment. Indeed, the home situation was so intolerable to him that upon two occasions he had run away.

When much younger, Julian had spent three summers at a boys' camp where military training and discipline existed. Thereafter, for two summers, through his own initiative, he had secured the job of selling fruits and vegetables from a horse-drawn truck. In this way he had acquired a considerable degree of independence and self-reliance. Because of his rapidly growing body he was able to enter into companionship with older boys from whom he learned smoking and swearing, and other things that did not contribute to his willingness to submit to oppressive conditions.

The effect of all these things—of the ceaseless friction with his younger brother, of his treatment at home, of the habits and viewpoints absorbed from older boys, of the

independence and lack of respect for authority engendered in him by circumstances, or his own maturing outlook on life—the effect of all these was cumulative. Each supplied some indeterminate proportion of the powder of revolt. But, as so often happens, it was an isolated incident that supplied the detonating spark.

One day while in shop work class Julian was slapped by his teacher. The next day he “cut” the class, and having done so he feared some drastic punishment for that sin of omission. His rationalizing mind required no stronger urge. Truancy was to him the natural flight from all the trials and tribulations of a tyrannical, abusive, degrading school system.

But Julian had reckoned without the truant officer. His school record, his impertinence, and his general troublesomeness were all against him. He was adjudged guilty by an impatient, curmudgeon type of school principal who decided to place him in the Truant School. Then his mother interceded and requested time to have his problem studied. Consent to this delay was grudgingly given, and the principal remarked that “this is the sort of fellow who needs harsh treatment. He cannot secure reformative grace through kindness.”

It should have been possible to count upon pedagogic coöperation in strengthening Julian’s character. But the matter of concern to the school principal was the truancy, not the boy—he was a truant and he should be dealt with accordingly; there could be no extenuating circumstances. When, in a friendly interview, complaint was made against the teacher, the principal, with loyalty to his subordinate uppermost, denied any rough handling of the boy. Subsequently Julian was sent for and given a verbal lashing—a totally unjust and unwarranted procedure.

An effort was made to secure Julian’s promotion in order to remove him from his younger brother’s class. But although he had been regular in his school attendance for three weeks and was trying to do his school work, his past record was quoted against him. Incidentally the term report card showed an identity of daily and examination marks—a very unusual occurrence—and the teacher’s comment was, “Not permoted.”

## 106 The Challenge of Childhood

It is the theory that elementary school training should instill the facts, processes, and ideals essential for practical and sound living in social citizenship. But Julian's school experience was damaging his character and his attitude toward the world, and certainly this non-promotion did not improve them. He had not had a fair deal from those whose clear duty it was to teach the elements of justice and fair play. There had been no investigation of the facts. He was prejudged vicious, a nuisance to be dealt with summarily in a corrective educational institution. An intelligent District Superintendent aided somewhat in loosing the school leash, but there was not a vigorous first-hand investigation. Tact demanded that the principal's general course of action be sustained, and his black report was accepted as the undoubted statement of facts. It probably was, *save for what it omitted*.

Julian was sent to a rural home with attendance at a country school. But at times the best intentions are of no avail. In his rural home Julian was plunged into a family quarrel which created a new unpleasantness, and once more he began to smoke, avoid school sessions, and take up with bad companions. Finally it became impossible to permit him to live under these undermining conditions, and he was returned to his home.

He was most anxious to go to work but he was younger than the law requires. Then luck intervened. It was found that Julian's birth record had been improperly dated, so that he was "officially" old enough to secure his working papers. His initial job was found for him where his father was employed. As a wage earner his home status altered. He was able to find an outlet for his interests without the competitive urge to keep pace with brothers and sisters for whom school studies offered no difficulty.

From an educational standpoint, the truancy originated in the failure of the pedagogic supervisors to appreciate the mental status of the boy. Even a knowledge of his I. Q. and basal age would have been of assistance. When he was falling off in any of the three classes he was obliged to repeat, had there been a visiting teacher to take up his problem, the course of his school life might have been altered. If there had been an iota of appreciation of the

inherent worth of the boy, some effort at understanding him, any slight attempt to reach out a hand to help him over dangerous places, he would not have had the reputation that hounded him to the end of his school career. Ground between home and school, he had tried to evade their heavy milling and to show his ability to succeed along the lines of his own choosing.

Julian barely escaped the truant school, and only because he found friends willing to fight with him and for him. To expressions of confidence in him he responded promptly. Immediate reformation could not be expected. New adjustments had to be made, old ideas had to be reconstructed, and ideals that had fallen had to be rebuilt. Gradually the plastic mind and spirit took on the desired shapes and colors of honest, dependable, conscientious, self-control and self-respect. Julian was not a truant at heart; he was a boy with his back to the wall, trying to fight his way with the weapons that had been impressed upon him in his limited, brow-beaten experience.

Possibly the emotional phases of this boy raise the question as to why he is discussed under the group of intellectual problems. But certainly the paramount difficulty lay with the poor educational approach, the contrasts in intelligence among the children, and the conflicting teaching of bad companions. Despite the accusation of juvenile delinquency, the boy was further from guilt than the school principal who apparently had forgotten his own youth.

While there has been considerable progress in the development of the juvenile court system, there is need for forestalling the courts by creating a system for preventing delinquency. What more natural place exists than the school system for the housing of an agency that will concern itself with the welfare of school children? Whether it is desirable to have a subsidiary agent of the court act as an official guide of youth is a matter for discussion. An extra-judicial officer, as a visiting teacher, might properly be the friend to whom children's difficulties could be brought. A kindly, sympathetic, good-humored, smiling countenance—a calm, logical, impartial mind—a large heart, unbounded optimism, and confidence in youth—an introspective conscience that has not lost its touch with personal youth, com-

## 108 The Challenge of Childhood

panionships, and experience, are the main elements that constitute the necessary adjuster of youth. Tact, shrewdness, good listening qualities, keen intuition, and the ability to weigh the truth are also virtues that would enable such a constituted authority to deal successfully with the numerous elements that enter into juvenile situations.

Sufficient authority should be granted to summon teachers, parents, and other necessary individuals, not as witnesses, but as conferees. There should be only informal hearings, and the advice that is necessary should be presented in such a manner as to secure the most effective coöperation of all concerned and implicated.

The educational period being mandatory, the complete school and home records should be available, as well as results of physical and mental examinations. The legalistic conception of juvenile crime should play no part in judging action, but rather the humanistic idea of evolving childhood, whose character is in a state of flux and subject to a multitude of strains and pressures. The purpose should be not the mere control of disciplinary problems, but the protection of school children against the influences that tend to undermine their characters. This becomes possible only when the school makes the child, rather than the curriculum, the center of its interest. Methodology and subject content are vital in teaching, but both are insignificant compared with the real education of children, which aims to extract from them the finest and best in effort, motive, attitude, habit, and character.

There is reason to question a scheme of child training that seeks to elicit adult patterns of action and reaction. Childhood lives in its own world, and it is subject to a different set of circumstances and social conditions than are the adults who desire to pass judgment upon juvenile conduct, in accordance with standards that do not necessarily apply. Juvenile goodness is solicited with complacency, though that goodness consist of docility and the unquestioned acceptance of adult standards. The rebellious child is challenging authority based upon adult conventions. In schools especially is this too frequently true. As defined by Dewey, "The rebel is the product of extreme fixation and unintelligent immobilities." The school ad-

visor should coördinate the dynamic factors of child life so as to provide for natural outlets and inhibitions. His judgment should not rest upon a specific act; nor should he interpret it as leading to an inevitable definite destiny. There should be due allowance for the emergence of individuality during the process of socialization. The net result would be the more rational treatment of children, in terms of character possibilities rather than as lost souls—incorrigible and fit only for incarceration in a disciplinary institution. The court of justice to the child is the court that casts no unnecessary stigma upon him.

### 17—Vera

VERA was a neurotic child with a high but variable I. Q. She had a tic (habit spasm) of the eyes, and the question had arisen as to whether she should continue in school.

C. A.  $10\frac{6}{12}$ , M. A.  $12\frac{1}{2}$ , I. Q. 123. But the I. Q. had fluctuated between 110 and 133. This irregularity in her I. Q. was emphasized by the fact that at six months intervals she had failed to achieve similar results in the same tests. Her school achievement tests, taken when her C. A. was 10 years, had rated her at  $11\frac{1}{2}$  years.

Vera was a fine type of American-born girl of well-read Russian parents. She had a quick, vivid imagination and marked musical ability. She had an excellent memory and learned quickly through visual presentation. Her reading quotient was 125. But there was some weakness in history and geography.

She was attending an excellent private school, which she had entered when seven and a half years old. The high standards of achievement of her class and the intensive training to which it was subjected may be judged from the fact that the median I. Q. of the class was 120. Vera, with her fluctuating I. Q., was sometimes considerably above or below the class level. After a year and a half in this school, she was in the fifth grade, about two years accelerated for her age. Thereafter she made no school progress for two years. When given a trial in the sixth grade, she failed to keep the pace and was returned to the fifth grade.



## 110 The Challenge of Childhood

Her ocular tic consisted in rolling up the eyes so that at times she was hampered in her reading because her line of vision was raised off the printed page. This had given the school considerable concern. Her teacher felt that the habit might have a serious import, and also that it might lead the other children to unpleasant imitation. Furthermore, she complained that Vera took a disproportionate amount of her time by asking needless questions about things she should have known. Under the circumstances, the easiest course for the school to take was to renounce all further responsibility for Vera by asking for her withdrawal.

Vera's psychic undependability was undoubtedly evidence of inherent emotional instability, as was her tendency to cry copiously at any thwarting of desires or at the slightest provocation. She had had both chorea (St. Vitus' dance) and spasmodic strabismus (intermittent cross-eye). And her tic was part of a general tendency to poor muscular coördination as well as part of the general instability characterizing her mental processes. Vera was a truly typical neurotic child. Moreover, she had been subjected to a high degree of parental solicitude. Her mother was attempting to re-live her own childhood in her daughter's, seizing upon every opportunity, real or imagined, to redress the balance of her own keenly remembered handicaps and trials. Vera's father was a musician of temperament, whose influence was limited to criticism of her music. As a result of these parental attitudes Vera had, in one sense, had everything made easy for her, while in another sense she had been constantly driven to make progress in her academic work and music. She had lived under the nervous strain of a constant push and pull. Her home atmosphere was tense rather than tonic; the satisfaction of their parental hopes and desires was evidently a matter of greater concern to her parents than the free development of their child.

Upon such a child as Vera, educational pressure at home and at school weighed heavily. Her early school advancement, though probably warranted by her M. A. at the time, had been as great an error as her subsequent non-

## Intellectual Problems

III

promotion, though her present placement in the fifth grade was the proper one for her chronological age.

The pressure of a high class private school, her failure to secure promotion, her trials in the sixth grade with consequent demotion, were quite sufficient to overcome the slight poise she had obtained when first accepted as a pupil of the school.

To drop her now, in the middle of the term, was a serious matter, and when the true nature of Vera's emotional distress was explained the school was willing to retain her as a pupil. From the moment that knowledge of this intention reached Vera her class work improved. As for her tic, it quickly responded to simple suggestions and muscular re-education of a rather general type.

Vera's case furnishes an illustration of the all too frequent pushing of children, not beyond their mental potentials but beyond their physical and nervous resistances. The hyperconscientious youngster, who takes school work too greatly to heart and tends to worry over the slightest failure or slackening of progress in individual branches, is in peril of an explosion that temporarily disrupts mental harmony. Regardless of the superior intelligence, caution is essential as a form of mental hygiene. Mental tests cannot be relied upon to indicate the underlying nervous stratification of mental function. But any exhibition of nervous phenomena is a danger signal not to be ignored.

One grasps the possibility of the mental conflicts that may arise under a system of rigid discipline which attempts to force adult standards upon youthful minds incapable of appreciating or accepting them. It requires no effort to understand the possible expressions of limitations due to physical causes, such as insufficient oxidation, impairment of sight and hearing, or physical deformity. No imagination is essential to understand the profound psychological influences of praise or blame, pleasure or pain; nor is there difficulty in recognizing the harmful results of educational maladjustments, whether they are due to inherent mental defects or to the faulty gradation in school of the child with superior mental ability. These influences become more

## 112 The Challenge of Childhood

patent when the superior mind is part of an organism that is not adequately stabilized.

It is evident that the fundamentals of mind training must include an increasing attention to mental adjustment to the realities of life, and this demands the institution of a wider measure of mental hygiene in schools. It is insufficient to use the word "nervousness" as an explanation of children's unsatisfactory conduct, nor is it scientific to rest content with informing parents that a defect is "trivial" or that "the child will outgrow it" (usually, it may be remarked, within the mystic number of seven years).

Many of the conditions regarded as "only nervousness" originate in physical, emotional, or volitional disturbances. It is well to bear in mind the relation to cerebral function of such conditions as stuttering, tics, restlessness, easy fatiguability, peevishness, bashfulness, fears, hypersuggestibility, vacillation, hysterical laughter, chronic headaches, irregular attacks of digestive disturbances, explosiveness, sulkiness, moroseness, stubbornness, hyperirritability, indolence, day dreaming, and similar evidences of personality impairment. These are all conditions which are fairly common, and they present difficulties which are not surmounted by fixing upon nervousness as the cause. Why do children evidence these traits; how may they be corrected; and, of much greater value, how may they be obviated? These represent some of the questions for which mental hygiene may supply the answer; but it cannot do so without the assistance and the coöperation of the teaching profession.

### 18—Ellis

ELLIS was a friendly, adolescent boy in the fifth grade who had difficulty in reading.

C. A. 12 5/12, M. A. 13 2/12, I. Q. 106.

X	Basal age	Score
XII		18 mos.
XIV		4 "
XVI		10 "
XVIII		6 "

## Intellectual Problems

113

His general mental ability was average, but, with his low basal age, there was evidence of some special ability that enabled him to perform two tests at the sixteenth year and one test at the eighteenth year level.

Tests of memory showed excellent ability in the fields of general information, good recognition for large objects, and a particularly strong power of memorization through aural presentation. His logical memory of visually presented material was good, although he took about three times the average length of time for reading. With auditory presentation, his logical memory was above the average. His ability to control mental association was prompt, vigorous, and accurate within the limits of his knowledge, but there was difficulty in reducing his associations to writing. His ability to recognize forms was hampered by an inability to recognize the right side of drawings. His power to control movements of writing and drawing was similarly handicapped where progression to the right was involved.

His spelling was of eighth grade standard, but his writing was cramped, tense, and distinctly retarded because of difficulty in following the line. The speed of writing was diminished below the standards of children in the first grade of school. Ellis was unable to grasp concrete situations that required the comparison of articles, figures, or pictures that could not be seen directly in front of him; his central vision was active and accurate. Silent reading progressed slowly, but there was no lack of ability if adequate time was given for the reading itself. Comprehension in silent reading was fully of the ninth grade average while his speed in reading was about one-third of the average rate. Whether reading columns or across the page, the rate was only twenty-eight words a minute. The longer the words the slower the speed. Reading words backwards and in a mirror to the left, considering the difficulties in transposing letters, was almost as rapid as his reading to the right. Tests indicated that he was able to recognize words of four letters quickly, but the delay in reading words of six, eight, or more letters, which required a readjustment of his ocular muscles, indicated a limitation of the field of vision to the right.

## 114 The Challenge of Childhood

In arithmetic he had no difficulty in grasping the principles involved, but the problem of the mechanics of calculating on paper was not a simple one. His written work was necessarily slow because of his difficulty in reading examples and long numbers, and of the laborious effort required in directing his visual attention to the right.

From these psychological examinations it was apparent that there was no disorder of Ellis's higher mental processes but that there was an interference with his visual function due to interference with the retinal fields at the nasal half of the left eye and the temporal half of the right eye. For purposes of locating the cause of the disturbance the oculist was requested to test out the visual fields, the muscular balance, and the number of ocular movements required to read ordinary lines of print.

Tests for near vision indicated ability to read only small portions of a line at one time. For example, it required nine separate movements of the eye to the right to read a line of eight words, which should have been perceived in two or three motions. Conversely, on reading stigmatic test type from right to left Ellis was able to read a line of similar length containing eighteen units in two movements of the eye.

For those who may be interested, a résumé of the oculist's technical report follows:

Conjunctivae, muscles, pupils, and media are normal, except that the right pupil is slightly larger than the left, with no exophthalmos or paralysis. The right disc shows increased pallor and definite atrophy, as compared with the examination made five months ago, and the retinal arteries are becoming thinner. The fundus of the left eye is normal. Central vision in each eye is  $20/15$  and definite hyperopic correction is accepted with no decrease in visual acuity.

Plotting of the field of vision discloses a definite homonymous hemianopsia, indicating a lesion situated in the visual path, or cortex, on the central side of the chiasm, and upon the same side of the blind halves of the retinae, namely, the left. The remaining, or left, half of the fields shows marked contraction both for white and for color, especially in the right eye. This would seem to indicate that the lesion involves other fibres, either at the chiasm, or on the other side.

Conclusions: The cause of the boy's chief complaint, slowness of reading, is due entirely to hemianopsia. The presence of the lesion eighteen months after an injury makes the prognosis of



recovery of vision in the blind halves poor. The question of progression of the condition cannot be decided until the fields are re-examined for comparison, after a month or two.

This defect in vision had been caused by a fracture of the skull in the occipital region. After an interval of two years, upon his return to school, Ellis had exhibited this marked slowness in reading, with some inability to recognize objects on his right when looking straight ahead. It is patent that the M. A. and the I. Q. do not represent his original cerebral inheritance and relative brightness, but merely yield an indication of his capacity to perform the tests while handicapped by seriously impaired vision. Although his mental age was over thirteen years, he was not capable of functioning at this level while handicapped by an essential defect that impeded his learning processes. To compete with a class upon ordinary terms was impossible. He was destined to failure in reading, writing, spelling, composition, and drawing if tested by oral or written examinations with a time limit.

Hence it was obvious that for purposes of instruction Ellis must depend upon his ears rather than upon his eyes; and the strength of his auditory memory indicated that, already, compensatory development of this faculty had begun. But, since book work increases in the higher grades of school, it is patent that Ellis's shortened eye span, due to limitation of vision to the right, demanded special relief. This could be accomplished by having the long lessons read to him. His unusually excellent auditory memory would be further strengthened as he became more dependent upon it. In addition, he would learn more rapidly and with less nervous strain if an intelligent reader were at his disposal during the period of study at home. Reading arithmetic problems to him and laying greater emphasis upon mental calculations would help him in this essential study. For the purpose of relieving the handicap in writing, the typewriter would afford a simple remedy. By learning the touch system Ellis would acquire speed for his written work without eye strain, and would regain confidence in his own capacity to master the curriculum.

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## 114 The Challenge of Childhood

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## 116 The Challenge of Childhood

came necessary to find a school that was willing to treat Ellis as an individual. He was not blind or myopic or school placement might have been a simple matter. He was not mentally defective or crippled in the ordinary sense or proper school classification would have been possible at once. As he was well-developed for his age, and his visual defect was not noticeable, it was desirable to allow him to be in a regular class and to proceed with other children of his age. But his rate of speed in reading demanded that he be excused from oral performance, and his slowness in writing and calculating required that he be marked upon what he actually accomplished in assigned tasks. Fortunately, an understanding principal was willing to make the necessary adjustments.

Ellis's physical education also required special consideration. Here, too, there were limitations due to his visual condition. Obviously, he could not play those boys' games in which rapidly moving objects are employed, without risk of further injury to his head or eyes. Hence basketball and football were forbidden. But, since the restriction of recreative pleasure must not become so deadening as to hamper his adolescent growth in active companionship, and since it was essential to insure his self-confidence and to promote the utmost normality, it was imperative that he be allowed to participate in every form of activity not particularly hazardous to him.

Ellis's school progress justified all the adjustments that were made. No extra or individual assistance was required of his teacher. Whatever oral instruction or explanation sufficed for the class group was adequate for Ellis.

At the end of two years he was re-tested, with the following results:

C. A. 14 5/12,	M. A. 16,	I. Q. 110.	
XII	Basal age	Score	
XIV		20 mos.	
XVI		10 "	
XVIII		18 "	

He was performing successfully the school work of the ninth grade. In algebra, French, and spelling he was fully up to the standards of his class. But his speed in silent

reading continued to be at the rate common to first grade children, and his comprehension, as measured within the test time period ordinarily employed, was on a par with that of children in the fourth grade. However, on making a special time allowance four times as long as that usually employed, Ellis revealed a degree of comprehension adequate to satisfy the demands of all high school reading and studying. His auditory memory was his salvation, especially in mathematics, for he was able to recall eight figures forward and seven figures backward without special effort. His ability to work with his hands could not be accurately determined because the limitations of vision reduced the rapidity and the certainty of his manipulations. But, considering that he was a right-handed boy whose vision gave sinistral advantages, it was noteworthy that he attained the level of ten year old boys.

But, notwithstanding this progress, it was evident that special attention must be given Ellis's shortcomings in the mechanics of reading or he would be dependent upon a reader for life. Unless some way could be found to overcome the limitation of his reading to the right, throughout his life he would be denied the pleasure of daily papers, magazines, and good books, deprived of the vital contact with current affairs and of the stimulus of literature. Since his eyes could not be altered, it was obvious that some method must be found that would enable him to read with far greater facility.

There are languages, such as Arabic and Hebrew, that are written and read to the left. If Ellis could master one of these his reading difficulties would be over. But to acquire such a language, a long course of instruction in its symbols, vocabulary, and grammar would be essential. This study could, obviously, proceed only by constant reference to an English book or dictionary, which would make Ellis's progress in the mastery of the language slow and painful at best. This plan was evidently far from ideal and could be regarded only as a last recourse.

For Ellis to learn to read with his fingers in the manner of the blind appeared unwise, not merely because of the insufficiency of books and periodicals in any of the raised systems, but because it might give him a false idea con-

## 118 The Challenge of Childhood

cerning his vision and imperil his attitude toward life in many ways.

After trying to develop some optical system that would reverse the printed page, a solution slowly suggested itself. It was decided to teach Ellis to read ordinary print in a mirror held or fixed in front of the page he wished to read, for by this means he would be able to read to the left. A short period of re-education ensued. Ellis was taught to recognize the alphabet and words in reversed form. Since many English letters are almost the same when reversed he had little difficulty in acquiring a facile recognition of the alphabet. A group of seventy-five word forms, including the personal pronouns, demonstrative and relative pronouns, the main conjunctions, adverbs of place and time, all the auxiliary verbs, and the principal prepositions, served as the basis of gaining speed in recognizing reversed words. One-half hour daily was devoted to the reading aloud of many kinds of printed material of varying difficulty.

Within two weeks his rate of reading reversed English to the left was more than half as rapid as his accomplishment in reading the same sort of printed material in its normal form and to the right. He was conscious of a greater power and ease, and realized the practicality and simplicity of the method. He set out to learn a new language that was merely an old familiar one adapted to his ocular requirements. In time he should be as capable a reader as other boys in his school or college. Furthermore, he will achieve an independence of outside assistance in the learning process which will enable him to advance with full confidence in his vision and in his ability to compete with full-sighted people.

There are numerous interferences with mental growth that merit careful study. In Ellis's case the physical destruction due to the fractured skull was irreparable but definitely localized. The I. Q. was inadequate as a basis of grading. A simple examination of the eyes with Snellen type would not have revealed the nature of the difficulty, as direct vision was not impaired and letter identification was normal at the routine distances. The psychologic tests and the determination of the visual fields

demonstrated the reason for his slowness in reading. If the hemianopsia had involved the temporal side of the left eye and the nasal half of the right eye, school work would not have revealed the weakness, and simple ocular examination with test cards would have rated him as the possessor of normal or hyperopic vision. Ellis's education was based upon his needs in terms of his discovered permanent defect. Admittedly, his was an unusual educational handicap but it suffices to indicate the importance of a thorough study of the individual child whose schooling is endangered by peculiar limitations of any sort.

There are, to-day, in all large school systems pupils who are deprived of their fullest advantage in education because of a lack of special facilities for ascertaining the reasons for their incompetence. The psycho-educational clinic, and the coöperation of physicians, psychologists, and teachers provide one means of improving the chances of children to realize their potentials. Teachers' estimates are valuable, and routine group psychological tests are helpful for coarse classification and grading. But neither one, nor both of them, should be considered adequate for the wisest and safest adjustment of all children. The physical basis of educability demands its share in the formulated judgment concerning what the child should do in the school and what the school should not do to the child.

### 19—Frances

FRANCES had difficulty in keeping up with her class in school, and she was alleged to be careless and lacking in conscientiousness.

C. A. 13 10/12, M. A. 14 9/12, I. Q. 106.6.

	Basal age	Score
IX		10 mos.
X		21 "
XII		16 "
XIV		10 "
XVI		12 "
XVIII		

Frances's powers of association were rapid although with a tendency to uncertainty and repetition. Her reasoning power was excellent, her judgment sound, her general comprehension admirable. The low basal age, however, and



## 120 The Challenge of Childhood

the wide distribution of successes into the eighteenth year group of tests suggested some weakness affecting her mental ability which explained in part the attitude of her teachers.

Her reading vocabulary was wholly inadequate, and her ability to read sentences was somewhat below the expected plane for her years. Ability to comprehend subject matter of various types was commensurate with her mental age, but her speed in silent reading of sixth and seventh grade material only attained the median rate for the fifth and sixth grades. Her immediate reproduction of the content of sixth and seventh grade material was of the character to be expected from children at the end of the fifth year. In oral reading of two and three letter words she achieved fourteen year standards, but in reading logical prose at the rate of speed of fourteen year olds her accuracy was no greater than is found among average ten year old children. When she read rapidly she could recall only nine out of twenty items, and only approximately fifty per cent of seventh grade material read silently at the rate of one hundred and ninety-eight words per minute. A definite weakness in visual memory thus became apparent, emphasized as it was by a rapid reading rate.

Spelling revealed errors suggestive of weakness of both auditory and visual memory. There was confusion of the suffixes "ence" and "ance," "cle" and "al," the use of double consonants, and the letters "c" and "s."

Her writing was of high order (13 Thorndike scale), but under stress of speed, with concomitant fatigue, its character broke down definitely.

Arithmetic exposed no weakness in comprehension of the principles involved in the work of the seventh grade, but she was consistently inaccurate. In addition she failed to recall the digit to be carried, and the same error handicapped multiplication; in subtraction her mistake arose after borrowing from the minuend.

Frances thoroughly enjoyed school and was dissatisfied with her school standing. She was conscientious and industrious, and she had noted that her arithmetic work demanded repeated effort in order to keep in mind all the elements of a problem. "I am a rapid reader," she commented, "and because of that I miss a lot of it, as it doesn't

all stick at once." She could not grasp the subject matter of her studies by a single, or even by a repeated reading; and frequently when she believed that she knew a lesson another perusal of the text revealed much that had escaped her memory. Often a lack of familiarity with arithmetical principles was revealed when Frances attempted the application of those that had been carefully studied.

A physical examination presented no explanation for the educational difficulties. France's moderate astigmatism could not account for impairment of visual or auditory memory. She was the daughter of intelligent, cultured parents, who were giving her every comfort and advantage; her home atmosphere was not the sort to engender an emotional disturbance such as might shortcircuit her inherent capacities. Nor could a personality disorder serve as a rational explanation of failure in the face of studiousness, a desire for progress, and pride in development.

Inquiry into her past history revealed the fact that Frances had sustained a fracture of the skull in the occipitotemporal region when five years of age. After an immediate trephining there had been an uneventful recovery, with no remaining noticeable symptoms. The health and progress of the child had been so normal in fact that the event had been forgotten until this inquiry was directed to it. This early fracture of the skull had caused a slight damage of the occipital and temporal lobes over the areas containing cerebral centers of vision and audition. In consequence of this she had acquired a definite educational handicap in the weakness of her auditory and visual memories. Frances could not justly be charged with carelessness. She did care and she did try. But her mental machinery was defective, and no one had realized it.

Fortunately, the immediate operation had spared her a more serious after-result. But the apparently slight results of the injury had prevented the early recognition of its after-effects, and the first few years at school had failed to elicit marked evidence of it. When, however, the curriculum began to call for a larger measure of learning through reading, together with some speeding up of teaching methods, her limited capacity became manifest. In consequence, despite adequate application, Frances was un-

## 122 The Challenge of Childhood

able to achieve the desired results. Gradually she dropped in relative school position. Her feelings towards her own growing failure stimulated the finest of conscientious efforts, with a definite recognition of her own weakness, and a concomitant degree of dissatisfaction with non-accomplishment. The attitude of the school towards her, and her own anxiety to please her parents, did not add to her pleasure, nor give her more understanding of her difficulty. And then the school demanded that she repeat the seventh grade because she was "careless" and did not get along with her class teacher.

Manifestly, in Frances there was a slowing up of the rate of educational development. This was no definite slump, but the revelation of a definite limitation of learning ability which required individualized treatment.

Frances is now understood, and her period of diligence without satisfactory attainment is appreciated as a struggle against great odds. She cannot increase her application, and so her educational position requires particular attention. She cannot keep pace with children of her own age and degree of brightness because, due to a special disability, she has a basal age of only nine years. Her innate cerebral endowment has been reduced in quantity and quality by reason of her injury. As the educational program involves a larger degree of absorption in reading she is likely to evidence greater scholastic difficulties. High school will be a trying period if she is expected to complete the required work in the regulation period of four years.

In justice to the child the situation must be faced squarely. Her rate of progress must be determined solely by her capacity to acquire formal education. The idea of "carelessness" is to be cast aside, and an abundant opportunity is to be provided to enable her to learn slowly but thoroughly what is essential. She alone is the determiner of her ultimate attainments, not by reason of her desires but by reason of her limitations. Her school program must be ungraded, so far as speed is concerned, with the greatest stress upon accuracy. Haste is undesirable, if retention of subject matter is of any importance. The alteration of program does not involve changing the curriculum, but merely the time element ordinarily bound up in the specific

amount to be learned in a stated semester. Probably a school period of twelve months would enable her to accomplish eight months' school work successfully.

A school with small classes is preferable, so as to allow the largest measure of personal guidance and teaching. As to method, the Dalton plan suggests itself as most helpful in its adaptation to Frances's individual potentials and the intensity of application necessary for her. Wherever she attends she must have practice in oral reading for accuracy in word recognition, and immediate verbatim reproduction of the subject matter. Detailed questioning should follow silent reading concerning its content. At all times stress should be placed upon exactness of language and accuracy in the restatement of thought after sentences and paragraphs have been read aloud to her.

That parental and pedagogic enthusiasm for high marks can result in unfairness to children is well illustrated by Frances. The assumption of carelessness carries with it a definite reflection upon interest, purpose, conscientiousness, concentration, and application. Frequently an analysis of allegedly careless habits will reveal a lack of knowledge or a weakness in automatic processes, which may be due to poor teaching or to a disability in acquiring, retaining, or utilizing information or principles that have been presented carefully and thoroughly. Methods are available for deeper investigation into the numerous educational frailties of children. Until such methods have been employed, it is unjust deliberately to characterize young students as careless, thoughtless, lazy, or stupid.

Physical alteration of structure or function, or emotional stress will be found to explain many school failures.

## 20—Betty

**B**ETTY had recently suffered an apoplexy, which resulted in a right-sided hemiplegia (paralysis) involving speech.

C. A. 9 10/12, M. A. 8 4/12, I. Q. 85.

VII  
VIII  
IX  
X

Basal age

Score  
8 mos.  
6 "  
2 "

## 124 The Challenge of Childhood

Inasmuch as Betty had had a blood clot on the left side of the brain, it was patent that her I. Q. did not represent her inherited mental potentials. To interpret her I. Q. as mental dullness might not be truthful. When the cerebral hemorrhage had occurred, she had been doing excellent work in the fourth grade of school, where she was normally graded for her C. A. As there was no previous record of her M. A., the actual reduction of cerebral capacity could not be determined. Similarly, there was no means of estimating how far restoration of function would follow re-absorption of the blood. Hence, in this instance, the I. Q. gave comparatively little guidance for educational gradation, and still less as a basis of prophecy.

It was not unnatural to find that the activity of the brain had been handicapped mainly on the side of memory and association. There had dropped out of mind the apperceptive mass already acquired, which was necessary for building up larger knowledge. Her disability was not restricted to school subjects, but extended to the centers dealing with speech. In addition to the temporary damage to visual and aural word centers, there was incoördination of the muscles involved in articulation. The tongue, and the lips especially, were beyond control as part of the effect of the included facial paralysis. It is evident that the use of verbal test material was more unsuccessful than if Betty had been foreign-born and suffering from mere linguistic difficulty. There was the double problem of rapid articulation and enunciation so that she might be understood by the examiner.

To indicate the uselessness of the I. Q. and M. A. in judging of Betty's ability, the achievement tests were of especial significance in connection with the weaknesses disclosed in memory and association. Her M. A. would suggest readiness for the third grade, and her basal age tended to indicate preparation for the second grade, while her C. A. would warrant, under normal conditions, school work in the fourth grade. In spelling she was unable to succeed in words of the first year. Reading revealed a power of word recognition to be expected during the first year. Her speed in reading material used at the end of

the first year was at one-half the median rate usually found. The immediate recall of subject matter read was totally negative. Not a word or an idea was recalled. In arithmetic she could count by ones, twos, fives, tens, and elevens, but slowly and with difficulty and uncertainty. She could add and subtract one, two, and three place numbers. She was unable to multiply or to divide by short division. Her arithmetical reasoning was developed to the levels required at the end of the second year.

It is manifest that Betty was not fitted for any school grade above the first, despite her M. A. This would make her pedagogic age approximately six years—at least three years retarded by her hemiplegia. No one could call this "mental dullness," in the sense of general cerebral weakness, as there were particular disabilities varying in degree and intensity. In order to give a larger element of chance in her favor, the tests were not applied again until much effort had been spent in re-educating her powers of speech. The confusion in thinking and association had to be overcome as well as the articulatory uncertainty.

After three months' special instruction, her spelling had improved somewhat—from a spelling age of five years to six and one fifth years. She was able to read second grade material at approximately the median rate of speed at the end of the first year, but her ability to reproduce the content had increased to the median performance expected at the end of the third year. In arithmetic she could add, subtract, and multiply, and she was beginning short division. She had facility in the multiplication tables through seven. In fact, Betty again was able to do the type of arithmetical work she had reached when obliged to leave the fourth grade, ten months earlier. It is obvious there had been a marked regaining of the mental content that had been lost. By re-education her memory and association were strengthened so as to enable her to increase her knowledge more readily.

As writing had been more impossible than speech, because the hemiplegia had robbed her of all power in her right hand, all efforts at teaching her to write were directed towards converting her into a left-handed writer and



## 126 The Challenge of Childhood

worker. At the end of the three months her left-handed script was more regular and legible than that of her practiced right hand before her illness. Though her speed in writing was less rapid than her former rate there was constant gain.

There has been continued growth and development, and eleven months after the institution of special teaching, and one and one-half years after the hemiplegia, her I. Q. is 94.5, with a basal age of nine years, and M. A.  $10\frac{1}{12}$ , C. A.  $10\frac{1}{12}$ . More interesting is her achievement in re-entering a school class of the fifth grade, although with a special program in reading and spelling. The return to school within two years of such a paralysis, without the loss of more than one year pedagogically, is most creditable and evidences the advantage of re-education.

It may be urged that the re-absorption of the blood would have permitted the temporarily disorganized cerebral functions to recover sufficiently to place her capacity where it now is. But, as a matter of fact, ability to use her right hand to any marked extent, such as is required for writing or drawing, is still lacking. There is control of the larger muscle groups, but no more. Hence the reconstructive processes would not have permitted her to write or to do any school work dependent upon the use of pencil, crayon, brush, or other instrument. Therefore, appreciating the close relationship between muscular and mental activity, it is fair to assume that Betty's progress would have been much slower had there been no special efforts towards educating her anew as a left-handed child. To await the return of muscular power after a hemiplegia is not the part of wisdom, although this is seldom recognized. The young child who is right-handed has not become so thoroughly habituated to activity as not to be converted easily into capable sinistrality. Certainly the fact of injury to the left side of the brain calls for an immediate attempt to re-organize life on the basis of sinistrality, which depends upon the intact cortical cells and associational fibres of the right cerebral hemisphere.

With disordered speech, it is desirable to begin re-education within a month or two, so as to call forth voluntary

efforts at control of the auxiliary muscles of speech. The attempt to make the vowel sounds correctly is the foundation of controlling lips, tongue, and cheeks. Consonant sounds should be gradually added, both preceding and succeeding the vowels. During these efforts the left arm should be exercised, and the tongue should be drilled in extension, direction to the right and left, up, down, and around, within and outside of the lips. Practice in smiling, whistling, and blowing are also useful. Experience demonstrates that the early re-education of speech is of great value to the individual, not only by reason of the tangible improvement which is quickly noted, but because of the increased control over the entire body.

When Betty made her first efforts at writing there were all the marks of unconverted and uncontrolled sinistrality; letters and figures were written reversed, although with her right hand she had had four years of correct letter and figure formation. It took but a short time to overcome this tendency to mirror writing, and the left hand soon became a useful member, and as competent as her right hand had been previous to the apoplexy. As a result of its training she was enabled to feed and dress herself, to play numerous games, and, generally, to re-assume a more normal life in her companionships with other children, although she was markedly handicapped by the disability of her right leg and arm. By stressing left-handed work a new set of associations was set up that had not been employed previously. The relations of sight and hearing to touch and manual use were not automatically transferred to the left side, but had to be built up carefully, patiently, and with definite purposeful exercises.

There will be no effort at reconversion to dextrality, as the undamaged side has already secured the degree of power that formerly belonged to the right side. Further, owing to the severity of the hemorrhage, it is dubious if the right side will ever recover its full function. Incidentally, to reconvert the child to right-handedness would lead possibly to an amount of confusion of ideas and movement which might interfere with her normal thinking, and even predispose to stuttering. To all intents and purposes she

## 128 The Challenge of Childhood

is a sinistral, whose right side will assume the subordinate position in her development.

It would appear likely that the rapid training of memory and association was due to calling forth previously unused cortical centers which were unharmed. The totality of mental power is never exerted in normal beings. There is a factor of mental safety in the possibility of supplementing the functions of one cerebral hemisphere with the activity of the opposite side of the brain. To delay calling upon the reserve powers of the mind is contrary to reason. There is a definite acceleration of the re-educational process by a transfer of impressions during the time that the paralyzed side is gaining in function. This is merely stimulating the sort of aid that ordinarily the right side of the brain gives the body and mind in right-handed persons.

Thus the hemiplegic should begin his course of mental training and development from the beginning as though there had been no previous education. But as the residua of former experience can be utilized, progress will be more rapid than it was originally. In truth, it is easier to make a sinistral out of a right-sided hemiplegic than to convert to sinistrality a dextral whose acquired habits of right-handedness serve as inhibitions. Furthermore, the converted left-handedness becomes more definite by the acceptance of all that may be recalled of right-handed experience, which extra resource was not possessed originally in acquiring right-handed ability. The wholeness of body and mind is well exemplified in this shift of mental gears, in this substitution of the bodily activity of one side for the lost power of the other. And with it, mental function is regained and life is renewed with a reasonably high capacity as measured in terms of the I. Q.

That the exact previous levels are not attained may be due to the fact that pressure over any one part of the brain involves some counter pressure on other parts, and hence there is a likelihood that some damage is done to cells in both hemispheres; obviously this depends upon the extent of the hemorrhage, but in a severe, complete hemiplegia it appears reasonable and is, in fact, in accordance with known pathology.

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## 21—Sandy

SANDY was a restless, irritable, emotional boy who was having difficulty in the third grade.

C. A. 10 8/12, M. A. 9, I. Q. 84.

VIII	Basal age	Score
IX		8 mos.
X		4 "

During examination, though Sandy was interested and coöperative, he was unable to concentrate. There appeared to be some interference with his hearing. His immediate auditory memory for digits forward and backward, as required at the seven year level of the Stanford revision, was markedly deficient.

His I. Q. suggested a dull-normal mental endowment, but in the presence of some defect of hearing the dependability of the I. Q. was open to question. Likewise his marked emotional irritability and motor restlessness must be regarded as elements affecting the reliability of the I. Q. obtained. On the other hand, the Porteus maze test, and the Pintner-Paterson short performance tests gave a mental age of seven years, leading to the conclusion that, regardless of any physical handicap, Sandy's was a definitely slow type of cerebration.

Sandy had had a premature birth. He had not talked until fourteen months old, and had not walked until he was two years old—a slightly retarded development. He had had intestinal toxemia with convulsions, measles, diphtheria, scarlet fever, rheumatism, tonsillitis, and pneumonia, so his physical strength had been taxed sorely and repeatedly by severe illness. The scarlet fever had been followed by abscesses of the ear, which had become chronic in the left ear. These abscesses had clouded his hearing on that side and had given rise at times to disturbing noises.

Sandy's vision was marked by a slight hyperopic astigmatism. He had a habit spasm of the eyes, he bit his nails, had enuresis, dreamed vigorously, and cried out in his sleep; he had an irregular coarse tremor of his fingers,

## 130 The Challenge of Childhood

and suffered from various fears—of the dark, of being left alone, and of being hit.

In his school work he was retarded one year for his mental age, two and one-half years for his chronological age. He was making only moderate efforts; his conduct was not wilfully troublesome, but he was restless, easily disturbed, and unable to concentrate.

The most significant thing about Sandy, however, was the fact that despite all efforts to make him right-handed, he exhibited a greater fluency in writing and drawing with the pencil held in the left hand. His motions with his left hand were more rapid and coördinated than those of his right hand. Here was the key to much of Sandy's trouble. He was a definite sinistral (left-handed person) whom an unintelligent school routine had attempted to convert into a dextral (right-handed person).

Mention already has been made in these pages of the disastrous consequences that may, and often do, follow attempts to convert sinistrals into dextrals. In discussing the physical problem of speech defects, it was pointed out (Division I. 4—Clara, p. 38) that the attempted conversion at times produces a stuttering child. But it may also result in mental confusion, mirror writing, muscular restlessness, habit spasms, disobedience, irritability, easy fatiguability, and in a greatly impaired educability. These consequences are most likely whenever the sinistrality is of the pronounced persistent type noted from early childhood, for there are individuals in whom the preferential use of the left hand is weak and may be overcome without ill effects by pedagogic pressure. But in general it may be said that sinistrality is not an acquired habit to be ruthlessly broken just because it happens to run counter to current practice, tradition, and theory. It is the "natural" handedness of a minority of the population, to be given due regard and respect.

In this connection it is important to remember that the left-handed child is not necessarily incompetent because incompetents are often left-handed. Though the percentage of sinistrality among mental defectives is fully four times as large as among the general population, there is a minority of 4% of the normal population to whom left-

handedness is as natural as the right-handedness of the majority. The left-handedness of these sinistrals may appear awkward to the right-handed; it may be, and sometimes is, a handicap to them in a world so largely right-handed; but it is nevertheless the handedness of greatest ease, comfort, and dexterity to those who possess it. Whether in writing, drawing, playing ball or tennis, the sinistral, in using his left hand, is acting in harmony with his nervous organization. To force him to use his right hand in order to conform to the pedagogic routine is to do him psychic violence. It is stupid and brutal.

In this matter the school is no more to blame than are parents and society in general. Indeed, our attitude toward the left-handed is not far removed from that of the Zulus. It is related of them that if a child appears to be naturally left-handed they effectively scold the erring member so as to force the use of the right hand for all honorable purposes. Ignorance may excuse the Zulus but it does not excuse civilized peoples for the psychic torture of their sinistrals. To-day we know that handedness is determined by the dominance of one hemisphere of the brain over the other. Left-handedness is determined by the dominance of the right cerebral hemisphere, just as right-handedness depends upon the superior functioning of the left side of the brain.

It is generally believed that sinistrality is an hereditary trait—probably a Mendelian recessive character. Though, because sinistrality is usually accompanied by dominance of the left eye in vision, there are those who believe that handedness is determined by ocular dominance. But, one may ask, what determines ocular dominance if not heredity?

However, it is needless to theorize as to the cause of sinistrality. It exists, and its existence creates special problems which must be dealt with intelligently and humanely. As an educational problem it is not a matter for correction. To convert the sinistral to dextrality is to throw his mental machinery out of gear, often with the dire consequences already noted. Whether the child's I. Q. be high or low, a strain will result from an attempt at conversion. But, be it noted, the strain is particularly injurious to those of



## 132 The Challenge of Childhood

dull mental ability, who need especially to foster their limited mental powers.

In view of the difficulties that sinistrals must have in adjusting themselves to social, educational, and industrial life, it is patent that the pedagogic aim should be to aid and facilitate, not to hamper, this essential adjustment. In training naturally right-handed children to be dextrous the left hand receives little attention, but it nevertheless achieves a position of usefulness of a subordinate character, as the complementary hand, in many types of activity. Similarly, in the proper training of the sinistral, the right hand accommodates itself to normal helpful function. Indeed, by reason of the numerous patterns of action commonly in evidence, the left-handed child usually approaches a higher degree of ambidexterity than the majority of right-handed children.

It is doubtful if the numerous sinistrals in our schools are receiving the attention due them. Firstly, they are not often recognized; secondly, when they are, they are usually tortured into conformity with right-handed practices; thirdly, their special needs receive practically no special study or consideration; and fourthly, sinistrals receive less, rather than more, attention by reason of their peculiarity.

At times a serious question arises as to the wisdom of reconverting to sinistrality a child who has become right-handed through the continued efforts of interested, well-meaning, but misguided teachers. If the conversion is complete for writing, and no nervous symptoms are evident, it is undesirable to change to the original handedness, but it is wiser to allow the free use of the left hand at the child's will for all future work. In a few instances I have been obliged to reconvert the child to sinistrality in order to overcome muscular restlessness and habit spasms, and occasionally there has been a period of confusion during the process of transition to normal sinistrality.

Educationally, the best results are obtained by noting carefully the tendencies of children to use their right or left hands in the kindergarten and the first grade. If after two or three days it is noted that the left hand is preferred for handling objects—pictures, glasses, papers, pencils, crayons, and other materials—a study should be made to determine

those definitely sinistral by inheritance and those seemingly ambidextrous. A few days of trial in using both hands for similar work will usually suffice to segregate those who are pronouncedly sinistral. The beginnings of writing or printing will soon reveal those possessing the mirror writing, whether using the right or the left hand. Effective and simple tests for establishing sinistrality are not available, but the need to classify the children of this type, particularly among the mental defectives, can be realized after a brief, purposeful investigation.

With Sandy, the immediate problem was quite evidently to determine the degree to which a return to sinistrality would relieve his educational difficulties. As a first step his teacher was advised to cease all efforts to make him a right-handed boy.

Within two months he became quieter, better behaved and controlled. He made more effort, and exhibited a general awakening of interest, attention, and judgment. There was no definite increase of his mental power, but there was an improvement in his facility in utilizing his inherent ability. Despite all his physical defects, his capacity to deal with regular school work was enhanced through the decrease of the nervous irritation that had been incident to attempting right-handedness.

Sandy improved because he was freely permitted to use his left hand in accordance with his inheritance.

## 22—Mavis

**M**AVIS is a fifteen year old girl with limited mental development.

C. A. 15, M. A. 10 11/12, I. Q. 70.

IX

X

XII

Basal age

Score

8 mos.

15 "

This girl has had every advantage that can be supplied in a home of culture, refinement, and wealth. She has been trained in every way possible by tutors, governesses, dancing teachers, and riding masters. She manifests the results of excellent breeding and thoughtful attention. Her obedi-

## 134 The Challenge of Childhood

ence, modesty, patience, courtesy, friendliness, frankness, and refinement are in sharp contrast with her lack of imagination, resourcefulness, and acquired knowledge.

As a result of her mental examination she is classified as a borderline type of mental defective. In spite of the economic opportunities for securing the best of teachers, she must be classified as a high grade moron because of the general weakness of her accomplishments in all directions. She is truly mentally defective, though because of adequate resources and familial protection she may be spared social failure.

There is the strongest necessity for caution in grading children of borderline type as actual mental defectives, therefore corroborative data must always be regarded as essential.

Mavis's visual and auditory memory are below the nine year level, and there is marked weakness in recalling facts imparted even the day before. She has poor control over her muscles, is slow and deliberate, and cannot attain the speed or accuracy of muscular coördination expected of normal eight year old children. She is weak in free and controlled associations, reasoning power, and ability to form generalizations. There is a higher peak of power in the possession of a pleasing vocabulary and in the choice of, and discrimination in, words. While the verbal tests suggest intellectual inadequacy, performance tests with concrete material show a median of achievement acceptable for seven year olds. She is interested, patient, and exceedingly childish in her pleasure at success or dissatisfaction at failure after serious effort.

Her educability is reflected in her accomplishment of the formal school work, but it must be remembered that she has been a child of fortune, who has had special and personal tuition and has never attended a school. Her reading power is of the speed and character found among nine year old children, while her comprehension approximates what might be expected of children of eight years. In arithmetic she can add, subtract, multiply, and divide in formal examples of the type given in the fourth grade. The beginnings of long division are grasped, but the accurate solving of examples is impossible. In multiplying there is

an evident lack of understanding as to the procedure when there is a zero in the multiplier. As a whole, one might say that her intellectual grasp of formal subjects is at the level that might be expected for her mental age. This is also evident in the paucity of her general information. Her imagination lacks force and spontaneity, and her creative ability is negative, largely because she has never been called upon to exercise it.

She is undoubtedly a moron, but that diagnosis is not the end of her problem. It is but the beginning. What is the wisest course to suggest? Is she to be sent to a private institution for defectives on the theory that segregation is the only correct policy? Is it advisable to remove her from a home of high ideals and excellent educative potentials? Is it worth while to spend further time on the formal subjects of education in the face of her achievements after fifteen years of living?

Omitting all emotional disturbances, which are developing because of the differences in capacity between her brother and herself, the problem of this poor little rich girl is that of thousands of other less favored children throughout the country.

In discussing Mavis's problem let us consider her not as a defective, but as a child to be made effective in every way possible through the wise expenditures of funds. Admittedly, no training, medicine, guidance, or experience can restore her to normality, but all the more reason that she receive the essential specialized education which will enable her to attain her maximum potentials. The end and aim of her life differs from that of normal women, for marriage should be denied her, in the interest of the race, unless she is previously sterilized. There is no valid reason for subjecting Mavis to a life of idle dependence simply because she chances to enjoy the security of worldly goods. She is entitled to all the satisfactions that are attainable through realization of such abilities as she possesses. How far can this child be developed, and to what end is she to live? It is preferable to set too high a goal than to have none.

Allowing a limited amount of time for the formal studies, Mavis may have the benefits of music, dancing, and special

## 136 The Challenge of Childhood

guidance in the development of the esthetic graces which may provide a release for energies during periods of isolation, or serve to mask her limitations when she is "in company." Work in arithmetic should receive its further expansion in a practical way such as is involved in learning through doing.

Her potentials of usefulness have never been tested. She has never been allowed to try her hand at cooking, nor has she been taught to sew, knit, or embroider. Useful occupation has played no part in her life. She has been the recipient of all that money could purchase save a real experience in living. For this young woman there may be valuable possibilities in all that domestic science and art offer. Gardening, with all the beauty of flowers and plants and their growth and cultivation, may sharpen her enthusiasm and awaken a new interest. Caring for domestic animals—ponies, dogs, cats, rabbits, ducks, geese, or chickens—may yield a richness of life that will make the future secure in happiness and useful service. Exposure to such useful germs may indicate her susceptibility to them and yield more definite information concerning a rationalized plan of vocational direction based upon demonstrated interests and aptitudes. The child of the rich must not be forced into parasitism merely because she will not become a public charge. All children are entitled to the guidance that will provide for their emotional and moral evolution, as well as for protection against unwarranted limitations of their development.

The educational program here suggested is a mere skeleton of the one outlined for Mavis. It is capable of unlimited expansion to meet the requirements of all morons. One deals in futures who thinks for morons, for they constitute the most serious problem among mental defectives. To instill consciousness of self-development and self-respect, and if possible to render them self-supporting, is a reasonable goal of educational plans for this group.

Morons form a distinct category of mental defectives, but within their group they vary not only in general intelligence, but in inherited trends, acquired traits, habits, and conduct. They present the same variations as children possessing normal or superior cerebral endowment. There

are morons "good" and "bad," indolent and industrious, attentive and distractible, truthful and lying, honest and dishonest, moral and immoral. In other words, they are human, and should be treated in accordance with the declared principle of "Life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." Their educational program is more complicated only by reason of their inherent mental limitations, not by reason of their conduct characteristics as a group. They require a formal education within their limited powers of acquiring it, but more especially they demand an industrial and social training in harmony with their needs.

Patently, a group that possesses a recognized intellectual handicap demands particular attention and supervision by the community. Institutional commitment should not be the first thought but the last. A moron should not be given custodial care unless a special reason exists. Inadequate home supervision, viciousness, immorality, or even a complete lack of other facilities for proper training may be reasonable bases for commitment to an institution for the feeble-minded. But even then the period of detention should be determined by the disposition, industrial capacity, character, and conduct of the individual child. The majority of morons can live at home, and if adequate provision is made for them they can receive helpful training in the public schools. The moron is as trainable to good habits as to bad, and his ability to function safely in a community depends upon the formation of habits of honesty, industry, sobriety, and morality. Hence it is evident that the moron from a fine type of home with moderate culture and economic resources is likely to succeed in communal living. Even though a high degree of continued supervision may be necessary, this is a preferable existence to segregation for life. The term "mental defective" need not always be interpreted as meaning "useless."

Freedom for the mental defective is as desirable as for any other group, so long as he is capable of living as a competent member of society. There should be justice coupled with understanding in dealing with his problems. The untrained, vicious, or immoral defective is a communal hazard, just as is the same type of person with normal mentality, but the moron's danger to the community may be



## 138 The Challenge of Childhood

minimized by the effects of a sound public policy leading to his redemption as a useful being.

The time to begin the saving of morons to social standing is during childhood. At this time the pressure of mandatory education exists, and it is possible to provide the requisite training for character and experience in industrial processes which will enable the great majority of morons to enter communal activity as industrious, trained, law-abiding, decent citizens, self-respecting, self-confident, and partially or completely self-supporting. The gain to the moron is as real as that to the community, which is spared a permanent charge and which receives a real contribution to its welfare.

While the solution of the problems of the moron demands a large social program involving mental examinations, careful selection of those requiring residence in special institutions, a parole system for the socially incompetent, and the determination of those to be permanently segregated, the fact remains that the approach is essentially educational. The defective intellect is the outstanding shortcoming of the feeble-minded, and whatever the return to society, it must come from the development of the inherent mental power to its ultimate potentials. Whether the mental defective be black or white, rich or poor, child of a king or the lowliest subject, his salvation lies in the training of his mind to some responsiveness which will enable it to function serviceably. The community neglects its responsibility toward the mental defective and itself when it fails to provide this type of socially necessary education.

### 23—Angelo

ANGELO appeared to be placed in school below his standards of ability.

C. A. 10 10/12, M. A. 13 8/12, I. Q. 126.

XII	Basal age	Score
XIV		4 mos.
XVI		10 "
XVIII		6 "

Angelo was a keen, alert, American-born boy of Italian parentage. His I. Q. suggested a very superior mental endowment which was corroborated by the high basal age of twelve years. His especial strength was manifest in tests involving arithmetical reasoning, definitions of abstract words, and his immediate auditory memory. His enthusiasm for learning was real; he was literally hungry for knowledge. He devoured books with avidity, and read by moonlight when, because of the lateness of the hour, other night light was denied him. Achievement tests indicated general ability to perform successfully all the work of the sixth year, with arithmetic problems perfectly solved.

The school had recognized his brightness to the extent of advancing him one-half year. His C. A. would have placed him in the fifth grade, while his M. A. indicated inherent intelligence capable of functioning in the eighth grade. The boy was small and physically immature, and therefore it was not wise to send him rapidly through the upper classes. It makes for greater happiness during school life for children to be with their physical equals. Further, the "skipping" process too frequently leaves gaps in the knowledge of facts and principles which retard, for a time, the educational development.

The facts concerning Angelo's mental calibre were communicated to the principal of his school with the suggestion that he be placed on trial in the sixth grade, second term. By reason of his demonstrated fitness, he entered the seventh year class at the opening of the following term, and secured the benefits of a rapid advancement class. As the result, he was graduated from the elementary school in one and a half years, instead of taking the three years that would have been required had his particular mental fitness remained undiscovered. In other words, he was prepared to enter secondary school at twelve and a half instead of at fourteen years.

Schools show a noticeable tendency to grade and promote children solely on the basis of chronological age. It is patent that all six year olds or all ten year olds are not of equal mental age and that, therefore, they are not equally endowed in intellect. The results of this hit or miss system of chronological school classification show in the fact that

## 140 The Challenge of Childhood

one-third to one-half of school children fail to move through the schools at the expected rate of progress. Ten to fifteen per cent of the children are two or more years retarded, and five to eight per cent are retarded at least three years. The reason for this educational failure is not to be found in the numerous defects revealed by physical examinations. The failure to grade children on the basis of psychological examinations, with allowance for the physiological age, is the dominant factor in explaining the wastage of child life and energy, of teachers' time and patience, and of the taxpayers' money resulting from extra expenditures upon the unfortunate repeaters.

A psychological examination aids in determining the level of intelligence and permits school authorities to group children in accordance with their needs for adjustment and in greater conformity with their educability. Mass education is slowly giving way to special types of classes which are more adequately attuned to the mental vibrations of children differing widely in their educational possibilities. School failure has not been due so much to the mental weaknesses of children as to the rigidity of school systems that aim to impress a single mould upon minds varying in depth, fibre, and plasticity.

The individualization of educational opportunities, direction, and methods is an ideal that is difficult to achieve, but it is, nevertheless, of practical importance in determining the hygiene of mental development. This is not to be construed as applying merely to public schools, for, in proportion to their opportunities, the private schools are far more backward than the public schools, particularly in the larger cities. The private schools are bound by the traditions, conventions, and educational heritages of the parents of their pupils so that few such schools appear willing to assert their belief in modern educational methods to the extent of utilizing them fully. Fortunately, there are a number of outstanding private schools of an experimental nature, many of which are endowed or financed by interested groups of patrons who are unafraid to meet the requirements of this age and generation on a new basis.

The large number of school failures who have achieved success in the world of science, art, literature, industry, and

finance, indicate the necessity for scrutinizing the educational problems of every child in order to secure the more rational adaptation of educational facilities to general and special mental ability. A high degree of success has attended the organization of special classes for blind, myopic, deaf, crippled, pre-tuberculous, and mentally defective children. It would appear that discovered mental and physical disabilities give children a particular advantage. Smaller classes, better equipment, and a more highly trained teaching staff are available for them. These groups of children are social liabilities. To convert them into assets, or at least to diminish their social hazard, communities appear moderately willing to make extra *per capita* expenditures. And no one would question the advantage and desirability of this type of social insurance.

But should there be an educational premium on sub-normality? Is not the child with superior mental potentials just as entitled to have his mind supplied with adequate exercises as the child of inferior mental power, handicapped senses, or impaired vitality?

The superior child is a potential asset to the community. Is it not, then, to the community's best interest to develop him to the point of fullest self-expression and greatest service? While no prediction can be made as to the part an individual superior child may play in the guidance of his generation, it is undoubtedly true that these children, as a group, will provide nearly all of the leaders in art and science, in the professions, and those who, by creating new ideas and ideals, must contribute to the progress of civilization. Such children are too few for the school system to neglect them. The time-marking system for these bright, capable, natural students is mentally harmful and, viewed socially, is responsible for a far greater loss to the community than can ever be atoned for by attempts to raise the mental achievements of children of inherently inferior mental powers. School progress is checked and mental growth retarded, with disastrous results to themselves and to the community when these vigorous minds are permitted to remain idle or to work at half speed. Most careful thought should be spent upon the needs of the superior child, for by modification and adjustment of the curriculum

## 142 The Challenge of Childhood

it is possible to weave an educational program more in harmony with his mental pattern.

Children with intelligence quotients above 125 can complete the eight elementary grades, as at present scheduled, without difficulty in five or six years. But it would be better if the breadth and depth of content of the curriculum were increased so as to secure an enrichment of the mind along thought-provoking, constructive, esthetic, musical, civic, and social lines. Such subjects demand definite application, but to acquire them the superior-minded child need spend no more effort than is developed by average-minded children in mastering the ordinary curriculum. Mental hygiene recognizes the instincts, emotions, volitions, and all other elements in character formation, as plastic material with varied potentials for development. Though the school is but one social tool for the development of child character, it should at all times be employed intelligently, not only to salvage the threatened waste of inferior minds, but to safeguard and enhance the rich treasure of superior minds.

The utilization of rapid advancement classes should be facilitated by a preliminary determination of the intelligence status. This would serve as a basis of guidance through the school. The segregation into single classes of children with I. Q.'s over 130 or 135, merely because of their I. Q.'s, is unhealthy to the general morale of the group. It is not likely that the *noblesse oblige* spirit would develop with such particularized attention; indeed, intellectual snobishness, arrogance, and false ideas of self in relation to the social group would be a more probable result. The idea of an aristocracy of brains is scarcely in harmony with a democratic system of education. No child is responsible for his I. Q., and his right to commendation and order of merit should depend upon his personal use of his inherent trends and capacities in reacting to, and with, an unlimited variety of social forces and phenomena. The boy with an I. Q. of 100 who is diligent may outstrip the one with an I. Q. of 150. The great, substantial, dependable mass of school children merits the fullest consideration, not simply as material going into an educational hopper, but in terms of the social nourishment they will yield on coming out of it.

The encouragement of secondary school education can be secured by more rapid advancement of those able to take advantage of it. Angelo will be able to complete high school by the time he is sixteen and one-half years old. If he desires to go to college and take up law or medicine, architecture or engineering, he will be enabled to complete his technical studies by the time he is twenty-four years old. The saving of two or three years in the elementary and secondary schools will be of considerable benefit to him by enabling him to get into his life's work at an age when his mind is most active, and when youth and optimism combine to make the approach to economic struggles less oppressive and discouraging. There need be little fear concerning the social disabilities alleged to exist at college, and there is no force to the argument that mental immaturity will handicap the collegiate years, providing there is a corresponding physiologic and social development. A half century ago boys of twelve to sixteen years were studying the classics and philosophy without distress, and the children of to-day are not behind their recent prototypes in mental prowess. The increasing number of young students attending high schools and colleges will solve their own social problems, even though it may involve more attention to academic subjects and less to athletics.

If an increasing number of children go to secondary schools without the intention of pursuing collegiate studies, there will be an excellent opportunity for enriching the curriculum so as to provide a wider and more serviceable education and experience. The crowded condition of our colleges and the high *per capita* cost of collegiate instruction suggest that, before many years, a considerable part of the material now taught in the freshman and sophomore years may be made available in secondary schools without sacrifice of value, and without danger to the youthful mind.

If school promotion is permitted in accordance with demonstrated fitness, it will also help to preserve some degree of individuality, which is now crushed by too long exposure to faulty methods of training. The intellect will be called upon for full service with the employment of all the functional processes. The child will again appear as more than a congeries of psychologic processes going through a



## 144 The Challenge of Childhood

school. He will be an entity that is recognized, not for what he is, but for what he may become as a social unit in a complicated world whose future nature is unrevealed.

### 24—Helen

**H**ELEN requires educational adjustment.

C. A. 8 9/12,	M. A. 15 2/12,	I. Q. 173.
X	Basal age	Score
XII		21 mos.
XIV		12 "
XVI		15 "
XVIII		14 "

It is evident that Helen is an unusual child. She is different from the average girl of eight or nine years of age. Her educability raises no question, but there is a serious problem in the how and where to secure the proper education.

She is a dynamo, physically and mentally, which must be utilized for service. She has unbounded enthusiasm, with a tendency to marked irritability when she is not fully occupied. She is individualistic but friendly, aggressive, independent, and possesses dominant elements of capable leadership.

Helen is in the fourth grade of school and, thus, one year accelerated for her chronological age. But, on the basis of her mental age, her theoretical placement would be in the first, or possibly the second year of high school. She is restless in school and works slowly but accurately. She is not essentially interested in her studies or in the children with whom she is placed.

In spelling she has no difficulty with seventh or eighth grade word lists, and she can build up words from groups of letters or play anagrams with a marked degree of inventiveness and an unusual rapidity of word recognition. Most noticeable, however, is her reading ability. In speed, reproduction of content, and comprehension, she demonstrates a fitness to be in high school; and her grasp of read-

## Intellectual Problems

145

ing is thoroughly in harmony with her omniverous application and her mental age.

Her arithmetical reasoning enables her to solve problems such as are given in the sixth grade. In ordinary examples she is rather careless, but this is largely due to the fact that the very simplicity of the work elicits neither interest nor the definite fixation of attention. The more difficult the work, the higher the degree of accuracy, though there is no attempt at speed.

She possesses a wide range of general information and is not lacking in useful knowledge along practical lines.

Her extreme youth is evident only in her writing, but this should not be a bar to school progress as it may be her *bête noir* throughout her school life.

Schools were not designed for children like Helen, and there is difficulty in making satisfactory adjustments without considerable experimentation and the violation of numerous pedagogic traditions. Helen's cerebral endowment is of the highest type, rather fancifully termed "near" genius. She is especially rich in reasoning power and in auditory and visual memory. These are the elements of greatest consequence in acquiring formal education, and it follows that her learning ability is rapid through auditory and visual channels. With her reasoning ability there is a remarkable associative capability, which is fully up to secondary school standards. She evidences prompt and accurate power of generalization, a high degree of planfulness, and a reasoning ability approximating that of average adults. Hers is a highly developed mentality trying to function through the channels ordinarily satisfactory for nine year old children of average or slightly superior ability. While she possesses the mental power to master advanced school subjects, her mental machinery is actually being employed upon the subjects ordinarily studied during the fourth year of school.

What school benefit is accruing to this child? Though rated as a year accelerated in grading, in the light of her exceptional latent ability and actual achievements Helen is really a retarded pupil. Her teachers do not believe in "pushing," so they are holding her back. Her emotional excitability is given as the reason for not "pushing" her, but to hold her back is to augment it through a lack of intel-

## 146 The Challenge of Childhood

lectual and organic occupation. The school cannot reduce her intellectual power even though it deny it exercise. Despite all formal schooling she has attained a reading and spelling ability commensurate with her mental age. What has fourth grade material to offer Helen, who is fascinated by Van Loon's joyous history and able to grasp and recall its content? How much value does fourth grade arithmetic yield her when she is already able to cope with the problems of the sixth grade?

The school is a faithless instrument when it tries to act as a drag on normal mental function and endeavors to limit progress that is secured without strain or effort. The tradition of the school is followed too frequently, regardless of the consequences to the child. An ordinary school of rigid convictions and formal curriculum cannot educate Helen. It is socially essential that this rare child have as ample an opportunity for education as would be possible if she were a high grade moron.

A gifted child with an I. Q. above 120, like Angelo, is far below a child like Helen, whose problems can scarcely be solved by opportunity classes, special promotions, or the skipping of grades. Her quickness of perception, rapidity of association, and certainty in retentiveness, together with keen inductive and deductive reasoning, give her the same advantage in acquiring formal knowledge as is possessed by the musical prodigy in mastering an instrument. "Pushing" is an attempt to make effort and application atone for lack of capacity, and it cannot be done successfully. However, it is striking that Helen's greatest emotional display occurs when mental occupation is denied her and her intellect is permitted to be inactive. It is understandable that her teachers find her aggressive, only partially interested in her work, and not the most sociable in her group. Physically she is in a group of her peers, but mentally she is alone. She is too immature in terms of age for association with an older group mentally nearer her equal. This is not wholly unreasonable in a school of definite categories and rules for managing educational gradation.

But children like Helen must be given the opportunity to function up to the levels of their intellectual potentials. It is wasteful to try to instruct in material that has been

learned. Repetition is deadly, enervating, and discouraging. Though Helen, without great expenditure of energy, could complete all the instruction afforded by an elementary school within two years, such advance is undesirable because of the importance of her social experience. By nature she is fitted for an ungraded class that will afford a fairly individualized program. A type of education that would give her a larger content each year would enrich her mind, develop her powers, increase her resources, and broaden her outlook on life, and at the same time not increase her speed through the elementary school. Hand work, art, music, dancing, domestic science, nature study, research in natural sciences, anthropology, social science, special reading and reporting on phases of history, foreign languages, and the working out of practical problems in the school and the community, would serve to enrich the curriculum in a school that endeavors to cultivate habits of thinking, reasoning, judging, and practical doing. Helen's social attitudes are to be altered or fixed only by living in a world of effort that supplies her with the pabulum she craves and is able to digest.

The pride of the teacher is the child who always knows the correct answer, but usually such a child has the wrong teacher. Supplementary studies, or extension of ordinary routine subjects, afford a simple method for rounding out mental power and broadening the intellectual horizon, so that the child may actually come to realize that there will always remain much for him to learn. A child who achieves 100% in all subjects is misplaced in school. There is almost as great a hazard in the 100% child as in the 100% patriot. Neither one is a completely socialized being, and both are more or less of a community hazard unless properly educated.

A child of promise is not always a child of performance. And this holds true regardless of the measure of the intellect. Assuredly the promise is more realizable if some active means are taken to facilitate performance. Stagnation, denial of opportunity, attempted repression, and the limitation of social contact to mental inferiors will not tend to broaden the concept of self in its true relations to the community which it helps constitute. Habits of idle-

## 148 The Challenge of Childhood

ness, arrogance, and irritability, with loss of interest and heightened individualism are likely to develop in the child of rare intellect when the positive phases of mental hygiene are disregarded. Such minds are far too few to be ignored or maltreated. The best of education is none too good as a communal effort to guide character into its noblest expression. Active participation in bettering human living is fostered by strengthening conviction, laying the foundation for accurate thinking, and creating a consciousness of personal responsibility.

### Division III: Emotional Problems





## Emotional Problems—Introduction

TO SECURE an insight into the child's personality a study of his emotional life is imperative. Emotional activity constitutes a large measure of the child's self-revelation through conduct. It is more difficult to distinguish the effect of any one emotion than to observe their fused influence in concrete behavior. Nevertheless, analysis and interpretation of emotions, the determination of their origins and effects, their birth and death, transformation and sequelae, represent comparatively undeveloped fields of philosophic and psychological inquiry.

The difficulty in studying emotions lies in the fact that, despite the objectivity of many of their forms of expression, they are essentially subjective phenomena. The emotional life of human beings and of lower animals is interpreted mainly through the minds of students of psychology, physiology, or philosophy, whose mental approach, prejudices, and opinions are themselves partially determined by the very forces they are studying. The objectivity, hence the exactitude of physical and chemical research, is unobtainable.

Introspection, as a conscious process, is an aid in realizing the thought stream that, at the moment, is passing through the uninhibited consciousness. When, however, the attempt is made to analyze the personal emotions, they are found to be elusive. Usually by the time attention is focused upon an emotion, it has disappeared or has been altered by the very act of conscious attention.

To study emotivity with scientific controls is still more perplexing, as the basic nature of two persons is never identical, and reactions are likely to be dissimilar. The laboratory can investigate and compare the electro-reactivity of muscles with reasonable certainty, but as yet there are no instruments that can be directly attached to states of feeling. Hence, emotions are studied mainly in terms of the conduct that results from their activity.

## 152 The Challenge of Childhood

The probing of emotional states gains little by an appeal to the subject for his intellectual explanation of their occurrence. To interrogate a child on the feelings involved in his last tantrum brings inadequate response, as the main-springs are concealed in subjective processes largely of sub-conscious origin. One may glean information concerning the ideas associated with feelings. And, under some circumstances, it is possible to measure the bodily responses that accompany states of intense emotion. But, inasmuch as the motivation of emotional states reaches up from below the plane of consciousness, it is rarely possible to measure the forces involved in their development. Whether the grief, fear, anxiety, or rage is due to internal secretory processes, or whether it induces them is highly problematical so far as definite scientific experiment has been able to determine. The psychogenetic origins of emotional life still are shrouded in mystery, despite countless treatises which afford tentative explanations or build up theories of sub-conscious activity. The distinction between proved demonstration of relationships and their laws of interactions merits careful thought. The how and why of phenomena are less easily determined than the what and when.

When one steps on a person's toe it is impossible to foretell what will be his motor or emotive responses. Did it hurt, or was there merely a sense of pressure? If pain was evoked, will anger, resentment, calmness, indignation, pardon, or smiling pity at clumsiness result? Will there be a tirade of abuse, a gentle remonstrance, a word of caution, or a complete ignoring of the incident? Though, with a foreknowledge of the individual's general character and habits, one may guess at his response, one cannot know the dominant emotional urge that will determine his action at any given moment.

All emotions probably consist of a fore-period, mid-period, and after-period. The mere proximity of hydrochloric acid and sodium carbonate does not precipitate chemical action. Their contact is essential. The period leading to their mutual impingement represents a fore-period. The effervescence and the liberation of carbon dioxide, with the generation of heat, constitutes the active mid-period. The subsidence of the reaction, with the

## Emotional Problems—Introduction 153

cooling off, and the resultant products, sodium chloride, carbon dioxide, and water, indicate the after-period of chemical activity.

Two boys play together and all goes well until teasing begins and anger gradually develops. A fight ensues, and each carries away strong feelings towards the other. A long series of circumstances and conditions, endogenous (arising from within) and exogenous (arising from without), combine in the fore-period. An acute reaction,—the objective phenomena of emotions,—results. Finally, in the after-period, there is a gradual transition into a state of feeling not identical with the status in either of the preceding periods.

Thus, shame may follow rage or fear just as laughter may arise from tears. In the analysis of the emotional life of children it is insufficient to base our judgment only upon observations of the state of flux represented by the active mid-period. There is far more to be learned from an investigation of the fore-period and a study of the after-period. These two states yield helpful clues to the underlying elements in the personality.

Undoubtedly there are inherent character trends that tend towards realization in conduct. They are not essentially instinctive reaction, but rather the channel guides along which the instincts flow most easily. Pugnacity may be instinctive, but one child will fight if his toy is taken or his property is despoiled, while another will not be disturbed by such unfriendly action but will fight vigorously if called a "sissy." There is something,—whether one terms it an inherited pattern reaction is immaterial,—that sustains the activities of life and determines general trends of conduct. The trends, assumed to be of inherited origin, are not to be deemed fixed and inevitable traits or the whole of education is valueless. They are the predispositions of character rather than the fixed determiners of conduct. The conversion of such hereditary, instinctive, and emotional trends to useful and wholesome modes of habitual response should be the aim of education. The essence of this socializing process lies in the organization of individual habits into forms adapted to communal living.

If there are two children subject to the same external

## 154 The Challenge of Childhood

influences in the home, school, and neighborhood, one of whom is always "good" and the other of whom is always "bad," it is highly probable that the differences in conduct are due to their different heredity. The same forces acting on dissimilar masses cannot bring about the same results.

The latent stimulative and inhibitive factors that influence individuality are not determinable. However, they are suggested by such common phrases as, "He is as silent and calm as his father," "Just like the tempers his grandfather had," "Gentle and patient as her mother," "A nasty tongue," "A disagreeable disposition" (like other members of the family, in direct or collateral line). Such household expressions show the general acceptance of the idea of inherited patterns of action.

To convert inherited patterns into permanent habits of social value is difficult because of the lack of any fixed social value for the emotions. Are selfishness, anger, and fear undesirable emotions? Selfishness is the basis of personal security,—it is the essence of the self in its own evolution. Anger is of the greatest moral value when the violation of a sacred principle develops it into righteous indignation. Fear is what the courts depend upon when they administer the oath to the witness about to testify, and it is the backbone of the safety first movement.

The distinctions between virtue and vice are too artificial and adult to arise spontaneously among children. The moral ideals of an age have practical values which custom surrounds with legal and moral sanctions. The emotions, too, are regarded as social or otherwise on the basis of majority opinions, traditional attitudes, and social customs. Thou shalt not lie, steal, or kill—but war creates a special privilege and exalts them. Thou shalt not covet—but nations are above the simple admonitions of the Ten Commandments. Similarly, one hears of justifiable anger, fear, or disgust, or of indefensible curiosity and self-pity. Utilitarian and hedonistic standards are employed which are not the result of intelligent deliberation and choice by the individual, but are derived from the age-old mass, or herd, compulsions.

Conduct is the resultant of habits developed from instinctive activity, with the colorful emotions determining

## Emotional Problems—Introduction 155

their place in the rainbow of life. The instincts form the bases of bodily reaction, and the body includes the brain, spinal cord, and sympathetic nervous system. The consciousness of an instinct is unnecessary, as the feeling attendant upon the instinctive reaction establishes the emotional state. Thus, emotion is "a stirred up state of mind"—a tension of varying extent and intensity. The nature of the expression of the tension may be conditioned by a consciousness of consequences. Anger may be restrained because of a desire to maintain equanimity, or fear may be whistled away lest one be taken unawares. The pleasure and pain principle in emotional reactions depends upon a recognition of consequences after a primary incidental experience, or after thoughtful deliberation upon what one may logically expect. In this sense, emotions are frequently self-centered even when altruistic elements are included. But there is no clash between these apparently opposite factors so long as sane conduct balances emotions, ideas, and concepts of consequences under impulsive direction or deliberate choice.

All instincts have an emotional content. Instincts are the racial channels for the outflow of energy, and often they are not adapted to conditions of modern life. The emotion is an internal preparation for action. By virtue of the continuity of life, emotion engenders action and in turn is the result of all action. It is a constantly varying state, and one step leads to another almost automatically. Emotional life is subject, therefore, to a constant ebb and flow, with variations of intensity and directive force, regardless of the instinctive channel through which it rushes.

It is for this reason that emotions are definite factors in physical health, mental growth, moral evolution, and social conduct. While emotions are generally regarded as mental states, it is more exact to consider them as states of the body, of which the mind is an integral part. The interaction of emotions and physical well-being is obvious. Physical suffering is merely awareness, or consciousness, of a part of the body or of one or more of its processes. Grief or anxiety may interfere with digestion to the extent indicated by the expression "pining away." Anger induces a rapid pulse, a contraction of the capillaries with concomitant



## 156 The Challenge of Childhood

pallor and a trembling throughout the body,—one may get “mad all over.” Shame flushes the cheeks and relaxes the muscles so that eyes are “cast down” and the head is bent. Disgust, engendered by an unpleasant sight, sound, or thought, causes nausea. Joy stimulates muscles and glands throughout the body and may even bring tears. On the other hand, a toothache may result in depression or anger, an undiagnosed pain may give rise to anxiety or abject fear, a tuberculous infection may be responsible for optimism, and chronic constipation may eventuate in melancholy. To say that either the tangible or the intangible elements in any emotional state is the more important would be an unwarranted assumption. They are both parts of a whole, as definitely as two sides of a sheet of paper, without either of which it must lose its existence.

Emotions may be regarded as derived from external and internal elements, considering the truly psychic phases as internal and the muscular and glandular activities as the external elements. Thus the dry mouth and the heavy tongue of fear are evidences of the external phase of the fear. The hyperactivity of the adrenal glands forms the external phase of anger as truly as do the rapid contractions of the muscles and the dilated capillaries of the face.

Thus it is apparent that emotions have expressive movements which are not so much results of the state of tension as integral parts of it. It is true that many forms of emotional expression may escape observation, or indeed may be controlled purposely or from habitual training. The “poker face” is the result of masking the feelings. The ascetic seeks to acquire a control over his facial muscles that makes the internal psychic phase indiscernible. In general, however, internal phases of emotions can be interpreted by their external manifestations,—such as the smile, the sneer, sob, shout, snarl, pout, flashing eyes, quivering underlip, stuck-out tongue, tremulousness, hanging head, clenched fist, twitching fingers, stamping foot, shaking head, lack of control of the bladder, and similar objective activities. A man may appear grumpy, genial, kindly, friendly, hostile, angry, fearful, disconsolate, serious, good-humored, sympathetic, proud, humble, aggressive, submissive, dangerous, or maniacal. The application of this variety of word

judgments is based upon the external phase of his emotions. These terms do not explain their own existence; they must be regarded as motor phases of emotions whose sensory elements are concealed in states of tension of unknown biological, chemical, and physical origin.

The James-Lange theory of emotions regards them as the way the body feels while executing the internal and expressed movements. Hence a man does not get red-faced, or make facial contortions and swing his fist because he is angry, but he feels angry because he goes through these physical changes. The emotion becomes thus the closely accompanying result of motor activity rather than the cause of the objective activity. One might almost ask, are trees green because they are growing or do they grow because they have green leaves? Biologically the two are inseparable, although the degree of growth and greenness depends upon a large number of influences beyond the control of the tree. Thus in the development of emotions, the internal and external phases are not in direct, established relationship as to degree, intensity, or simplicity of evocation. The same type of emotion does not always present the same degree of response because of the interactivity of all the emotions and the varying degree of pressure of outside stimuli. It is simple to discuss a single emotion but it does not exist in isolation, although at times its force and urge may give it temporary dominance in thought and expression.

In a definite situation, a fear arises impelling one to escape, but, a vantage point of safety not being at hand, anger develops and drives one to attack. It represents the last resort, the only way out. Fear is not dead, but it is temporarily displaced by the stronger emotion, anger. Thus the activity which has grown out of the emotions indicates some of each, but especially the dominant one. The expression of doubt, the quaking rage, and the contemptuous pity illustrate a fusion of expression when only two emotions strive for dominance in activity. Life, however, is bound up with a multiplicity of emotions, although some are wont to regard fear and anger as the primary emotions, regardless of the conjectural value of mere terms of a classifying nature.

## 158 The Challenge of Childhood

As part of the after-period of some emotions, there is often a hyper-sensitiveness to their reappearance upon very slight provocation. Thus the organic state set up by the emotion stimulus persists to some degree, and predisposes to a similar reaction to stimuli other than the one originally evoking the emotion. This may be prolonged and even may tend to become habitual. The tired business man, who has been irritated beyond measure at the office, reproduces his anger when his child accidentally and unexpectedly annoys him with a question. The grouch, the boy "full of pep," the giggly girl, and the emotional adolescent are illustrations of the possible chronicity of emotional trends resulting from an incomplete expression of the originally developed energy. In such cases there is a residuum of the state of tension which is easily intensified by a variety of stimuli. It is the attitude of feeling that "everything goes wrong"—"everything annoys him"—"she is perpetual sunshine." The impulse is in course of organization into a habit, whose permanence, however, is neither implicit nor to be prophesied. A new set of conditions may rectify, counteract, modify, or antidote the seemingly fixed emotional trend, and a new side of character may then be revealed in attitude, sentiment, expression, and behavior.

Emotions are various, and efforts to place them in categories have resulted in groupings that differ widely. James considered grief, fear, rage, and love as the fundamental emotions, while Watson accepts only fear, rage, and love as the coarse emotions. Others regard anger, fear, lust, grief, mirth, disgust, curiosity and tender emotion as the primary states of feeling. Compound emotions would be represented by hate, composed of anger and fear, or pity, derived from grief and tenderness.

The mere identification of emotions does not indicate their trends to action either singly or in combination. To arrange them in terms of their self-assertive or self-submissive tendencies yields somewhat more practical information. Thus, self-assertive emotions include a defensive reaction to things (success motive), a defensive reaction against persons (independence motive), an aggressive reaction to things (power-seeking motive), an aggressive reaction to persons (dominance-seeking motive).

## Emotional Problems—Introduction 159

A thwarting of self-assertion involves the origin of shame, sulkiness, stubbornness, defiance, peevishness, and kindred states of tension. The self-submissive feelings act as checks upon action, and thus contribute to adaptations in behavior. Shame and envy are not necessarily inhibitive in nature, but they serve as a brake upon self-assertiveness.

Emotions are as numerous as are the shades of feeling. To classify them completely along conventional lines may be evidence of one's analytic power, but it does not aid one in effecting alterations of personality. Man acts as a whole, and his emotional life is complicated and involved in the totality of his being.

Gehring, in order to interpret emotional tension in terms of projected ends, suggests that the forces impelling to action are essentially desires for new experiences, for security, for response, and for recognition. These are virtually substitute terms for the desire of success, independence, dominance, and power. But these abstractions, considered in relation to reality, become life itself. Subconscious motives are essentially latent desires seeking realization. To label them in the wonted static psychologic manner conveys less conception of their concentrated energy than to group them loosely into broad motives. Certainly, to state the motive for success as a positive desire for success in all that the phrase connotes is more understandable than to attribute the resultant activity to fear, anger, envy, acquisitiveness, and other component elements of this motive. Further, emotional life is dynamic, and the definition of its power is elusive. The dissection of all the elemental atoms of emotional life will not shed much light upon their directive force or fluidity. Anatomic descriptions too frequently are accepted as the equivalents of psychologic values. Emotions cannot be atomized; they must be studied in terms of function.

Emotions have been described as the feeling phase of instincts. If, therefore, emotions are scarcely analyzable with demonstrated accuracy, instincts, too, form the subject of conjecture, guess, and involved analysis. Those seeking to penetrate deeply into details specify fifty to sixty instincts that serve as man's heritage from his prehistoric forebears, and indeed from his animal ancestors. On the other hand,

## 160 The Challenge of Childhood

this multiplicity of primitive instincts is denied by many, and one or more important dominating tendencies are segregated as the sole basis of human activity. Thus the Freudian psychologists reduce all human activity to terms of the sex instinct. The tremendous value of reproduction and sexual life, in root, branch, leaf, sap, bud, flower, and root, is undeniable, but this does not suffice to indicate or warrant that all of the phenomena of physical, mental, and moral action must come under the aegis of Venus and her cohorts. By dint of application, a new nomenclature could be derived to bring all human activity within the realm of a hunger urge. The contributions of Freud to dynamic psychology are real, extensive, valuable, and basic, but nevertheless this does not serve to place the seal of verity upon every conclusion he has reached. Looking at life, always holding the mirror of Venus in hand, is bound to limit the reflection and to interfere with the complete observation, judgment, and interpretation of phenomena.

American psychopathologists tend to reject the dogmatic dictatorship of Freudian philosophy and to accept as probable basic factors the sex, herd, and ego instincts. McDougall offers as the foundations of social psychology the following instincts: pugnacity, curiosity, self-assertion, self-abasement, repulsion, flight, feeding, reproduction, parental instinct, gregariousness, and the constructive instinct. The concomitant emotions appear as anger, wonder, positive and negative self-feeling, disgust, fear, tenderness, acquisitiveness, and derivatives growing out of sex and herd life. It is evident that this more extended classification can be contracted into an ego, herd, and sex group of instincts, with their involved emotions.

Regardless of these varying terminologies, it is difficult to apply the analysis of emotions to children with any degree of certainty. The principle of free association is of distinct help, but if the analyst is prejudiced by a set interpretation of responses he rejects much that may be vital in consciousness. There is marked similarity in the emotional evolution and psychic experience of children, but this does not justify identical conclusions in terms of their omissions and commissions. Granting that early impressions are not lost, it is an illogical assumption to say that the only trouble-

## Emotional Problems—Introduction 161

making responses and suppressions are those linked up with sexual experiences, sexual desires, sexual thoughts, or the trauma of birth.

A complex is an instinctive action supersaturated with surging sensations seeking realization in consciousness. The complex is out of harmony with conscious overt action, and hence its energy component is only partially discharged, which causes discomfort, unhappiness, and at times even physical suffering. The struggle of a complex to dominate activity is resented consciously, and a mental conflict develops. Thus, the mental conflict is the result of a clash between two desires. For example, mental conflicts arise when the ego instincts and emotions run afoul of social demands and herd impulses. Mental conflicts develop when the sex instincts battle with the ego or herd instincts. All of life is not an Oedipus or Electra complex. The mental conflict is frequently the explanation of the basic differentiations between character and reputation.

The subconscious mind is a veritable reservoir of past experience, knowledge, wishes, and secrets which one desires to remember or to forget. Hence it bubbles with hidden desires, prejudices, and urges to action. Without a subconscious mind, there would remain only the awareness of the now, that moment between two eternities. To it belong the richness of life, the springs of physical and psychic function, the appreciations and discriminations, the intuitions and unconscious choices. Banish the subconscious and life would be "weary, stale, flat, and unprofitable." The automatic acts of life are under its control. Intelligent activity is furthered by relegating to the subconscious the control of conquered processes.

Like the secretory and glandular activities, the emotional habits have their bonds finally established with subconscious rather than with conscious processes. Thus attributes of character, such as sympathy, shame, shyness, courage, persistence, and rebelliousness, find their roots pushing down to the basis of instinctive and emotional life. Man's potentials are based upon the racially antique pattern reactions stored in the subconscious system. Each generation receives the accumulated habit patterns of humankind and the subconscious machinery for storing up new impres-



## 162 The Challenge of Childhood

sions, ideas, and discriminations necessary to keep them functioning.

Whether thought and feeling are resident in the muscles, as behavioristic psychologists aver, is immaterial from a practical standpoint. The important truth is that the conscious mind does not serve as the sole determiner of conduct. Hence reasoning is frequently less effective than direct or indirect appeals to the subconsciousness. The most valuable influences of life are those that train, school, and educate the individual's instinctive and emotional factors. These are organically compelling forces of greater magnitude than the intellect, which is a far more recent development of animal power. The instinctive reactions of amoeba, snake, bee, fish, and primate tell the age of that part of mental organization which preceded the earliest thinking of savages. Man prides himself upon his intelligence, memory, thinking, reasoning, deliberation, and choice, but his power is dependent upon the deeper-lying and longer-organized instincts and emotions. Therefore, in order to interpret conduct, we must recognize the participation of subconscious motivation. This does not involve the conclusion that life is unreal, that actions are lies, that beliefs are dishonest, or that prejudices are entirely defense reactions. It merely indicates that emotional life is so intricately woven into individuality that personality is inexplicable without a consideration of subconscious motivation.

Because children's subconsciousness is less crowded, the impressions of the early years are more easily reached than in adults. All repressions have not yet become suppressions, and suppressions are more directly released. The emotions founded upon the ego, sex, and herd instincts are not fully understood by them, hence self-revelation is less hampered.

The possibilities of the substitution and sublimation of their impulses are almost infinite but, naturally, much will depend upon the physical status and intellectual potentials of the individual child. The inherent nervous organization likewise conditions an emotional re-education that permits life to proceed in accordance with accepted and acceptable principles. The conflict between the individual and his world is as real a test of emotional stability as is the disagreement of sex impulses and egoistic trends.

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25—Milton

MILTON was a fine vigorous youth of seventeen years, who was having difficulty with his school work. He was alleged to be indifferent to education and "apparently lazy."

His I. Q. was 104, and he was in the third year of high school. Frequent changes in schools and an absence of one year because of illness accounted for his slight educational retardation. For two years his school work had been below the standard of his earlier years. Recently he had been having repeated attacks of drowsiness during classes, even when he was interested in the subjects under discussion.

Milton had inwardly resented and outwardly denied the stigmatization of indifference and laziness. Penalization had failed to bring about the anticipated reaction of greater effort, and school work had continued to remain below expected levels.

His good nature, spontaneous humor, and exhilarating freshness of adolescent convictions as to self-deportment, revealed an emotional stability that was commendable. He acknowledged his weakness and ready fatiguability, which was always more pronounced when the work compulsion rose above the pleasure incentive. He suffered from recurrent headaches, somnolence, diminished attention, and divergent application, with ideas of pleasure crowding out purposeful effort. He was indifferent to these reactions; their effects upon his future concerned him but little because he was certain of definite business opportunities which appealed to him. After a discussion of his earlier habits, Milton realized that the diminution of his capacity had begun after a mild attack of encephalitis (sleeping sickness) which he had had earlier in the year.

It is evident that while certain of Milton's personality alterations were the aftermath of the encephalitis, others were a part and direct consequence of his adolescence. To

## 164 The Challenge of Childhood

make the differentiation clear, however, it is necessary to give a *résumé* of adolescent behavior in general, and particularly as related to the emotions.

Adolescence is an indefinite period of transition from the simple organization of childhood to the complex mechanism of maturity. It is the bursting bud and early flowering stage of existence. The bud contains all the elements of the flower as well as the essential fruiting characteristics. In the botanical world there is reasonable predication of the flower from the bud stage, but this part of the analogy does not hold true in the genesis of manhood from childhood. Adolescence is a period of growth, during which a variable degree of oscillation takes place before stabilization is attained. This is true whether we are considering body, mind, judgments, emotions, or conduct. As the self presses forth in its quest for dominance and recognition, it comes in conflict with the forces of control and inhibition. The interplay of personal urges and desires with the regulating devices of society creates periods of disharmony and of tumult.

The effort of adolescence appears to be directed towards individualization of body, mind, and spirit. The physical substance undergoes remarkable alterations, mainly through the development of the secondary sex phenomena. The mind expands. Passing through a period of sceptical reasoning and uncertain judgments, it eventually attains assurance and confidence in its own processes. The spirit rises and falls as positive and negative energy guides the emergence of romance, estheticism, religious consciousness, and idealism.

The adolescent is more than the sum of his organic sensations; he is developing a vigorous recognition of self as distinguished from all others. The ego of the adolescent is the survival of antecedent experiences. The self idea is liberated, and it grows from the efforts and strains of daily life and from the feelings that accompany emotional and volitional experiences. Hence the personality of the adolescent of to-day is not that of to-morrow. The element of uncertainty is not only characteristic of adolescence but part of its charm.

The factors of personality evolve during and through the conscious and subconscious adaptations to living.

Among the many physical factors that influence attitudes at this age period, one of the most important is heredity. It is heredity that determines the physiognomy,—and at no time in life is the personal appearance of more vital consequence as a competitive factor than during adolescence. Other physical factors are the physique, the bio-chemical responses that are involved in the organic states of the body, and disease states. Obviously, any definite abnormality of the physique will be a handicap in the competitive activities of this strenuous age; likewise, any functional abnormality of the endocrine glands will profoundly affect the personality; and, similarly, toothache, indigestion, typhoid fever, hookworm infection, encephalitis, and tuberculosis,—to name but a few disease states,—may induce a variety of responses whose exact character is quite unpredictable. But as states of tension they shape, control, or inhibit emotional derivatives just as they alter physical traits.

The intellectual factors that influence thought and decision are both stimulative and inhibitory to the development of personality. Hence intelligence participates actively in promoting or retarding the expression of adolescent conduct. With the expansions of imagination, and the hyperacuity of imagery of adolescence, it is evident that any consciousness of inferiority tends to induce doubt, indecision, vacillation, discouragement, fear, anxiety, and similar pernicious emotional states.

Moral factors that influence action constitute the essence of character; they determine stamina in the face of trying conditions. In this sense, "moral" is not synonymous with acceptance of conventional opinions. Moral forces are rather to be construed as directive urges for conscious right living. They enable youth to manifest the necessary social virtues—such as honesty, verity, justice, self respect, tolerance, loyalty, coöperation—even when they are directed against the *mores*. Patiently, there are innate qualities, opportunities, and experiences which enter into moral life. And these three are inconstant, so that the similar morals of individuals arise from the interweaving of dif-

## 166 The Challenge of Childhood

fering conditions. A covering may be woven of cotton, linen, wool, or silk, or of variable percentages of each. The resultant qualities are not all alike and there may be marked or slight differences in their wearing qualities, but still they are all coverings. Who shall say whether a silk jacket will outwear a cotton one unless one knows the weight and the weave and, more particularly, the conditions under which each is to be worn? Opportunity determines the nature of the weave of moral fibre, while experience evidences its wearing qualities.

In adolescence, therefore, one perceives the expansion and contraction of sentiments, and their basic emotions. The outstanding characteristics of the late adolescent period are the emergence of conscience from temporary omniscience, and the rounding out of ideals into forms with sufficient organic forcefulness to give them a substantial place in thought and action.

The underlying instincts and emotions, to which reference has already been made, form a conditioning background of conduct. The revelation of their undoubted force and compelling urge is most marked during the age of emotional upheaval. The shadow of savage heritages ever falls over adolescent personality and conduct. Hence the greatest problem of boys and girls is to establish an equilibrium of emotions. If the individual grew up in vacuo one would have to consider only the internal stresses, but life is fraught with human relations. From this fact one may recognize the emotions arising from bodily and psychic causes, in contrast with exogenous emotions which originate as responses and reactions to external factors inherent in the environment. The boy who believes himself to be virtuous but who has never yet been tempted has not established the complete equilibrium of his emotional life. Nor does a single environmental reaction pre-empt its duplication under similar circumstances, because each act adds to or subtracts from the emotional balance, which then requires a further adjustment to re-attain the equilibrium. It is evident that the protean manifestations of the inmost emotions are constantly influenced by the equally diverse environing conditions of the exogenous emotions.

Out of the maelstrom of resurgent currents are born the dynamic, intellectual, emotional, moral, esthetic, and social characteristics of adult behavior. These are not a series of differentiated traits, but they possess a dominant trend which at any one time may be characterized as belonging to this or that category. Courage, for example, may become cautiousness, timidity, or temerity under varying situations. Courage may be intellectual or moral, dynamic or static. Sympathy may appear as an emotional or as a social trait, with moral or intellectual, active or passive implications. And yet these traits are having their course defined and limited by every thought, experience, obstacle, and temptation.

Personality is the self or ego. Among its components, reflected as traits, are what an individual knows of himself, and what he believes is known concerning him. The picture he conceives of his self,—as real, fancied, or as known,—influences its development. The youth's state of feeling or attitude towards home and parents, school and companions, and his general environing sphere of activity, constitutes an undeniable force. Likewise, the wishes and desires for his self,—his ambitions and aspirations,—all enter into the completeness of his personality. His plans for self, as evidenced in the manifold enthusiasms, determinations, goals, and ideals, constantly alter personality, and in turn are deflected by counter currents of personality.

Most potent are the subconscious, or unconscious, residua of ideas, sentiments, and complexes which, persisting as fixed memories, help to shape judgments, beliefs, convictions, tendencies, and habits. Finally, freedom and responsibility play their respective parts in releasing, challenging, and fixing personality as it exhibits the self to the community.

Personality is an expansion of the ego under the pressure of subconscious wishes and conscious volitional desires. A recognition of self-limitations develops through experience in which are involved many thwartings and punishments. The self is in a constant state of comparison and contrast with others,—even from the earliest moments of guidance and parental dominance. The unplumbed depths of adolescent consciousness are stirred into activity through



## 168 The Challenge of Childhood

self-assertion for mastery and recognition, and they take on the varicolored hues of self and self-estimation. Above all, the adolescent age is the period of stress in putting the self across. It is the age of appreciation of the "my-ness" of persons, things, and groups, and of principles that dovetail into an adult world so that self finds its level and finally assumes its place.

During this metamorphosis of consciousness there is an everchanging aspect of behavior because of the large variety of stimuli and responses in terms of time, place, persons, and circumstances. The results are temporary or permanent, according to conditions that are beyond our present understanding. A kind word may check a career of incipient crime, an injured dog bring about increased respect for parents, or a small toy may alter the child's whole outlook on life. A glance may drive a boy to flight and vagabondism, an unjust criticism may lead a girl to abandon the path of rectitude. Therefore, we must consider behavior as an effect, and endeavor to interpret it in terms of causal factors,—general and specific. We must learn to interpret and understand the general tendencies or traits of personality, and the special emotional strains spent upon the single occasion of misconduct.

The personality becomes integrated through the unification of the tendencies and interests of self. Selective action demands choice among conflicting impulses. And the power to choose depends upon an appreciation of the nature, force, direction, and consequences of the impulses. The coördination and satisfaction of the emotional life are essential for activity; otherwise action is unintelligible. Impulses denied expression receive some judicious treatment through the substitution of other urges, or by their sublimation to a level of performance that is eminently adequate, satisfying, and conciliating to the personality. These modifications of impulses eventuate through the expansion of social consciousness into altruistic channels. Adolescents want to do for others and to be recognized in the doing. They are coöperative and "clubby," and they team well. They are the patriotic warriors, the members of loyal ball teams, the chivalrous courtiers, and the ambitious strugglers for the ideals and principles of

their groups. Within the singleness of personality there are possibilities of shifting values, as, for example, the different personalities exhibited by a child at home, at school, with the "gang," and at work. A terror at home, a gentleman at school, a leader of the boys' team, an idler at the shop,—and only one boy is needed to supply the quota of personality. A girl is gentle at home, a worker at school, wild with her companions, an impudent, aggressive apprentice at the factory,—and only one girl.

Morton Prince wisely comments: "Personality is the offspring of the past, and the past is the present." Regardless of the nature of all conduct, all motivation is expressive of the will to live. Even suicide is a consequence of willing to live under a different set of conditions than those oppressing personality. Life is difficult for the emerging ego because it is surrounded by the repressive regulatory mandates and guides of society. Hence the ego has to fight for its existence, and in the combat it stores up a precious lot of past history which will be reflected in future behavior. Adults may interpret children's conduct as they wish, but the truest explanation of it can be derived from adolescent children, who have little fear of man, God, or devil. They express their views of life as it crushes their personalities or allows them free expansion.

Inasmuch as adolescence provides the maximum alterations of physical adaptability, intellectual potentials, emotional organizations, and character traits, it affords the main time-setting for evolving an efficient personality. During the formative years the elasticity of youth is ever present, and the energy stream is rarely sluggish; hence the tendency to extremes of emotion, mood, thought, sentiment, and activity. Youth must be judged by the standards of adolescent suggestibility, reactivity, and responsiveness, and not by the fixed, hard and fast measures of adult life.

In the case of Milton, charged with being "apparently lazy," one notes the fair completion of physical development. There were evidences of energy and coördinated muscular activity. His emotional life appeared to be under excellent control. He had passed through the

## 170 The Challenge of Childhood

period of hills and valleys. He had entered upon late adolescence.

His intelligence quotient was normal. He reasoned calmly. He wished to avoid dismissal or any change in school and, therefore, desired school success. But he was not stimulated to greater accomplishment when deprived of much-desired pleasures and companionships. He made a conscious effort but failed, though there was evidence of a slow gain of power of control. His tendency to fall asleep in the class room, despite his natural desire to escape detention and reprimand as well as the inevitable low marks, revealed a trend contrary to that of the normal adolescent boy seeking to assert his ego.

The encephalitis had occurred during the period of greatest change, but the indifference and laziness charged to him had not been evident before the illness,—save that, like most children, he had made no more effort than was necessary. It appeared, therefore, that Milton had been unfairly stigmatized, and that he had been subjected to needless punishment because of a personality disorder due to a mild infection. His restoration to normality was a matter of time, patience, and faith that his inherent normal trends would finally assert their power as the effects of the disease continued to decrease.

School pressure was relaxed and another set of stimuli applied to evoke greater efforts towards physical and mental application. His interests were capitalized, and school progress was relegated to a position secondary to the healthy growth of his personality. His emergence was complete, as fortunately the few remaining influences of the encephalitis gradually disappeared.

Incidentally, the personality alterations due to encephalitis are frequently most profound and of doubtful outcome. Excitability, rage, destructiveness, pugnacity, disobedience, dishonesty, insomnia, temper, moodiness, depression, and a large variety of similar disturbances wreck much of human usefulness, and not infrequently such patients may require commitment for self-protection and the safety of others. Thus far, proper places for the after-care of encephalitics have not been established. Too often these children are confined in institutions designed for the treat-

ment of adults with mental derangements, and this does not represent adequacy or fairness in their management. The urgency of the situation is more apparent every day, for there is a constant increase in the number of patients presenting behavior deviation some time after their apparent restoration to health. The after-care of encephalitis requires careful study and a special type of institution.

## 26—Martha

MARTHA was an adolescent girl of sixteen years who showed a marked disinclination to study or work. She combined a spirit of discontent with sudden irritabilities.

Martha's physical status was excellent, her only gross defects being a moderate far-sighted stigmatism and a slight pronation of the feet. Her physical maturity was accompanied by excellent mental potentials.

She was talkative, impulsive, truthful, and frank, but selfish, pleasure-seeking, strongly opinionated, hypercritical, and vain. She had a superior idea of her own capabilities, capacities, and conduct. She was engrossed in advancing her own comfort. Though a vigorous individualist, she was evidencing some social qualities in her association at school and even in the home.

Martha was at the beginning of her senior year in high school. There had been an increasing difficulty in school work, and a marked decline of her interest in the subjects taught. Her teachers stated that she was "growing lazy."

At home, because she would sit at ease while her mother, brother, and sister were busied with household duties, her father, also, called her "lazy." Her brother termed her "useless."

Martha's main desire was for freedom from home direction, guidance, and domination. She wished to leave school to go to work. She wanted to earn money, to support herself, to be independent. As school was preparing her for college, why study hard when that would merely keep her at school? On the other hand, if she failed at high school she might be forced to leave; and if she could become more parasitic at home, her family would be glad to grant her desire for freedom. Besides, she disliked housework. It

## 172 The Challenge of Childhood

soiled her hands, dish water reddened them, and sweeping pained her back,—though she admitted that if such work were necessary to support herself there might be some fun in it. The emotional revolt of adolescence bade her slacken her pace in all directions.

Martha's reactions to her mother, though not essentially ungrateful, were thoughtless and gave evidence of indifference. Save a biologic bond, her mother's life and hers had nothing in common. And to Martha consanguinity was a trifling incident—she had not asked for such a relationship.

The more criticism that was lavished upon Martha the greater her resentment and the stronger her desire to escape such a preposterous unhappiness. There was no stimulus in her family's sarcasm or cajoling. The adolescent storm became at times a tumult, with torrents of tears at being not understood, with waves of passion at the denial or limitation of her pleasures and companionships. The growing emotional tide swept back all effort from useful ends or coöperative service. And more and more she came to be regarded as "lazy."

It required patience and tact to ease Martha into greater adolescent stability. A less critical attitude on the part of the family, some maternal companionship in pleasures, and praise whenever an excuse could be found for its use, helped considerably to tone down her agitated emotions. Her enthusiasms and interests were considered, quietly appraised, and discussed; but decisions, with all their responsibilities, were placed upon her until she virtually pleaded for guidance. Home responsibilities were given her as a test of her ability to serve in the business world. Gradually Martha realized that the family policy had changed, and that she was free to leave school if she so desired. And suddenly she found that she was not so certain of what she did want. With the home pressure released, she became more amenable to social pressure, and she decided that graduation from a high school had values she had overlooked. A new interest in school appeared, and forthwith industry asserted itself. She began to study again, and an air of happiness pervaded her life. With the decrease of her discontent, Martha began to be coöperative at home. Soon she assumed her place as a helpful daughter anxious

to relieve her mother as much as possible. Mutual respect and understanding brought into being a new and more normal mother-daughter relation. The school and the home both acknowledged the injustice of the charge of laziness, and the adolescent crisis was passed.

A slowing up of activity is not uncommon among adolescents, but it should never serve as an excuse for the stigmatization of laziness. Martha, like countless others, was called lazy. But what is laziness? Is not that which we term laziness a mere symptom of underlying causes, unknown, unappreciated, misunderstood, or ignored? It would seem that laziness is a convenient word we use to describe a state of mind and being, distinguishable by reduced activity and application, whose true significance eludes us. Today, however, to brand a child lazy without at least attempting to get at the underlying causes of this symptom is both unscientific and unjust.

The causes of laziness are to be found in any one of three conditioning factors, or in various subtle combinations of the three. They are: intellectual weakness, emotional instability, and volitional indifference. These, in turn, are "causes" which may be determined, developed, or modified by imperfect sensation, nutritional inadequacy, and glandular dysfunction. We might further multiply the causal elements, but these suffice to indicate my belief that most "laziness" is symptomatic. It is an evidence of organic disease, or of a functional incapacity arising from physical or psychological causes that determine volitional decisions for inaction as a defense mechanism.

It is immaterial whether the underlying causes of imperfect sensation be central, mediate, or peripheral; in each case, the psychological consequences are fairly obvious. It is evident that whatever interferes with the fullest development of sensation must influence the ideational and emotional life, and, thus, by hampering cognition and affect, must directly influence conduct as manifested in volitional action. There are, for instance, the interferences that result from myopia or deafness, from injuries affecting muscular sensation, from defective structure, or muscular imbalance. Even moderate disabilities of speech may result in inhibitions of serious moment. A slight degree of hydro-



## 174 The Challenge of Childhood

cephalus, a birth palsy, a fractured skull, encephalitis, and countless other disease states interfere with the channels of sensation. All these variously caused interferences with sensation have powerful effects in developing attitudes and trends which create volitional indifference.

The term "nutritional inadequacy" is used in a broad sense to include fatigue states, conditions of bodily suboxidation, vitamin deficiencies, the results of infectious and of parasitic invasions. Most familiar are the preventable fatigue states. These are partially delusional in character and born of a too keen consciousness of defects; their effect is literally to make their possessors "tired." Somewhat similar are states of inactivity superinduced by the constant admonition that rest is necessary, and the deliberate acceptance of the inactivity as a protective mechanism. Under the head of suboxidation I include malnutrition, whether due to under-eating or over-eating, or to such diseases as diabetes, or to the various forms of chronic intoxication either by food, alcohol, drugs, or other deleterious substances. Vitamin deficiency is a potent factor in scurvy, pellagra, rachitic manifestations, and other conditions in which activity is distinctly limited. The infections include all the communicable diseases; in the more common types, however, the enervating factors arise from the after-effects. This is especially true of those involving the nervous system, the heart, and the kidneys. Syphilis and, especially, tuberculosis are of great significance in this category. The parasitic invasions that engender reduced activity are hookworm and worms in general.

The subject of endocrinology, with its present high degree of indefiniteness, merits consideration in view of the undoubtedly important part that the ductless glands play in the development of the body, anatomically, physiologically, and psychologically. The tremendous influence exerted during adolescence by glandular readjustments must be considered. The effect upon personality that arises from dysfunction of the thyroid and pituitary glands deserves thought in connection with sluggishness and inactivity, as well as in conditions of hyperexcitability. The importance of the secretions of the adrenal glands and of the gonads makes it necessary that they be included among the

possible factors that enter into the conduct of the allegedly lazy.

Bearing clearly in mind these causal factors, let us return to a consideration of the intellectual weakness, emotional instability, and volitional indifference which so largely determine what is miscalled "laziness."

Terman regards inherent mental weakness as the greatest conditioning factor for much that is regarded as "laziness." He has estimated that "some 10 per cent of the school children of perfectly normal appearance have a grade of intelligence which is half-way between that of the moron and of the average normal child." All such dull-normal children, all border-liners, and all those others placed in grades beyond their intellectual capacity must suffer in competition. Obviously, despite adequate motivation, awakened interest, and even a certain degree of application, the child of inherent mental dullness must fail in school.

But there are others, likewise termed "lazy," whose mental weakness is only relative and not absolute. There is the child who, after a long absence due to illness, returns to school to find himself plunged into lessons far in advance of where he left off. Under conditions of easy fatigability, sensing a useless struggle, he succumbs to the inactivity that relieves him from strain. The hope of catching up with the class becomes transformed into hopelessness, hopelessness into indifference, indifference into apathy, and apathy into accepted inactivity. The teacher, recognizing the lack of effort, upbraids the child for laziness. Thus the chain culminates in a desire to escape pain through accepting inferiority as an absolute rather than as a relative characteristic. In another type, one finds an average capability in most school subjects, limited by a peculiar disability in some single subject,—as arithmetic or writing,—which serves as a constant drag. The particular incapacity, with its repeated impact of failure upon the mind, develops a sense of the futility of effort, which in turn may dominate other fields of mental activity than the one directly affected. That neither of these types is intrinsically lazy or indisposed to action may be evident in their enjoyment of dancing, baseball, or other games outside of school. The emotional reaction to the school and its environment clouds the picture

## 176 The Challenge of Childhood

of existent energy, and falsely condemns the child to the opprobrium of laziness. These represent two types to whom might be applied Cowper's expression, "indolent vacuity of thought."

The emotional phases of mental activity are exceedingly varied. Obviously, emotional instabilities, so common in the adolescent period, provide a favorable basis for inactivity. The susceptibility to easily wounded feelings, the sharp reactions against ridicule and unreasonable censure, offer unusual discouragements. The continuance of emotional revolt tends to lessen the shame over the failure to achieve conventional standards. As the child becomes accustomed to rigid criticisms, there is a definite decrease in his self-respect. When children fail to desire and seek the good opinion of others, and when they lose their sensitiveness to its loss, a vital emotion is either destroyed or so weakened that its place is taken by one of lower driving power. The balance between self-assertion and self-abasement is assuredly decreased by the loss of the motivation born of a sense of self-respect. If to this loss is added unashamedness, the weak-willed are greatly handicapped for sustained performance. Such undesirable emotions can be weakened best by the counter stimulation of newer and larger interests,—new friends, games, places,—and of pleasurable emotions under normal direction; but, unfortunately, such individualized attention is difficult to obtain in schools. Strong emotions can be controlled only by making the greatest effort to establish an intense interest with a correspondingly heightened affective urge.

Since, with any emotional condition, there are usually concomitant visceral relations which may present physical symptoms, the character of the emotional state becomes more physically fixed in its quantity and quality. It is important to bear in mind that physical reactions participate in the expression of emotions, and in turn may be reflective of them. Hence it is necessary to appreciate the physical states that influence muscular, vaso-motor, glandular, and neural reactions, as well as to understand the influence of visceral reactions in the causation of emotional conditions. The part that an emotion plays in the creation of ill will towards one's home or one's environment depends upon the

quantitative character of the emotion as well as upon its quality.

The sharpness of an emotional response tends to determine the degree of effect of all other impressions arising from less fundamental and aggressive egocentric reactions. It is recognized that physical sluggishness is frequently an evidence of mental disorder. This apathetic state may be manifested in a mere lack of interest in surroundings, in decreased application in industry, or in a diminished interest in the family. Finally an actual depression may develop. Undeniably, emotional activity is accompanied by constant variations in health, but the period of duration of such activity is limited, and is followed by more or less of a restoration to a plane of balance. Irregularities in quantity and quality of emotions characterize the unstable period of adolescence. Prolonged alteration of emotions, however, and continued failure to react normally to stimuli, would be more indicative of a psychic constitutional inferiority. Hence, all emotions that tend to engender the ill will of individuals and that lead to asocial or antisocial trends, are particularly undesirable. Many affective trends block the impulse to effort because of their weakness or their strength which, in turn, depends upon the nature of the complexes to which they belong.

The mere objection to physical labor does not of itself constitute laziness. There are emotional reactions of a continuous character that, far from representing weakness of emotion, result in forms of activity not essentially laborious in character. This is well represented in the emotional outpourings of artists, philosophers, dreamers, and musicians, whose early lives not infrequently reflect an indisposition to physical activity. A failure to dwell in the real, though conventional, living world, and a tendency to establish a dream world for self-satisfaction, may result in mental preoccupation. This precludes the ready direction of attention to the formalized work that has been established as of benefit to the community, but it is not necessarily properly adapted to each and every individual. The phantasy may in itself be the cause of an inactivity that leads to the type of behavior so often resulting in the stigmatizing of children as dreamers, dawdlers, putterers, or slackers.

## 178 The Challenge of Childhood

In such cases it is the child's emotional state that should be investigated with sympathy, and not the child who should be driven, forced, cajoled, or abused in an attempt to secure his conformity.

Inactivity, sluggishness, or laziness, even when accompanied by apparent good health, cannot be overcome by scolding, sarcasm, verbal abuse, or by constant arguments as to the worth of industry. The driven child is more likely to develop a distaste for work than is the child whose inspired or spontaneous interests impel him to activity. The rational course is to offer an external stimulus that will tend to create an inner urge. The personal impetus, self-derived, arises from the stimulation of such primitive instincts as curiosity, pugnacity, and the like. There is little question but that the undue stress placed upon precepts as to the value of work is counteracted by the obvious acclaim that the community so frequently yields to those who do the least physical labor. Many children are aware of this distinction, and they desire to ally themselves with the honored group who labor least rather than with the group whose apparently more arduous efforts are attended with comparatively little social recognition.

Normal children in abundant health and vigor possess tremendous reservoirs of energy for which they seek outlets. A damming back of activity in children of this type results in an unnatural sluggishness, inertness, or apathy which calls for immediate medical investigation. Such sluggishness or apathy may represent the onset of any one of a number of contagious diseases whose first symptoms are often expressed in altered behavior. The persistence of these same symptoms, however, too frequently results merely in an indifferent and acquiescent recognition of their unfortunate character, and the term "laziness" is given as an adequate explanation. To use this term under these circumstances is merely to name a condition that is not understood, and it indicates a failure to comprehend the nature and trends of the child's mind.

Certainly, habitual apathy or constant indifference calls for study. One may say that the remedy lies in the establishment of habits of industry. This is, of course, true, but it is more difficult to achieve than may appear. The

energy outlet must be into channels that possess some real significance to and for the child. The conventional studies, manual work, or occupational direction that our schools provide may be just as ineffective for any particular child as the limited opportunities afforded in the home. The adult point of view has been too dominant, and a corresponding failure to interpret life's activities in terms of children's needs and natures has resulted. There is greater advantage in the doing of anything than in the doing of nothing. The habit of activity is paramount in the development of personality, and from the educational point of view the medium through which it is attained is relatively inconsequential. Although adults may believe in the superiority of their assumptions, they too frequently run counter to the natural impulses of childhood.

The child's education in activity must not be regarded as purely disciplinary—a mere effort to keep him busy. His individuality merits recognition, and his specific interests, instinctive or acquired, must not be constantly thwarted, or regarded as puerile and therefore foolish, or wholly undesirable and ineffective. The danger of the more or less constant blocking of normal impulses to energetic expression is not fully appreciated. Inherent interests demand cultivation for the purpose of encouraging the continued, willing direction of conduct along useful lines, and for the development of the personality in its relation to the herd.

Volitional indifference, or volitional disinclination, results in a partial paralysis of the will for definite types of action. Even the inactivity resulting from delusional disturbances are at times termed "laziness."

One recognizes that the will "is the whole mind in action." It is the "doing" phase of ideation and motivation. The difficulty in interpreting action is due to the unpredictability of the associations and emotions aroused by any particular stimulation. Volitional responses for activity are motivated clusters of ideas and ideals with their emotional fringes, and these are particularized for each individual. The difference between volitional tendencies resulting from the same stimuli under conditions that are varied only by the presence or absence of toothache



## 180 The Challenge of Childhood

can be readily appreciated. The most important influence in voluntary action is the entire life history of the individual with all his developing trends and attitudes. This fact in itself indicates the complexity of the problem of volitional indifference.

The motor phase of volition is closely correlated with emotional states, particularly after the evolution of sentiments. The fixity of reactions produces a reasonable degree of dependability in action. But conflicts of ideas may introduce an element of uncertainty which leads to a distinct unreliability because the dominating associations of the time will probably determine the personally acceptable consequences to be selected. Active effort may be inhibited by powerful groups of associations in the fore-conscious mind which, by reason of particular experiences, possess inhibiting feeling tones. These thwart the emergence of helpful, unconscious, instinctive action.

In the process of the socialization of individualistic tendencies, inhibitions are of major importance. A prominent basis of inhibition is fear. The interpretation of what is to be feared naturally depends upon a life experience with all its associated memories and inherited trends. One recognizes the highly suggestible individual whose will accepts every suggestion as part of itself and, therefore, as compelling. On the other hand, one understands the individual whose mind is so distraught with obstructive conflicts as to be incapable of decision, or perhaps utterly unable to act. Thus one frequently notes the child who would like to, but cannot; who says that he is trying but who does not seem able to accomplish anything. Voluntary action is the result of two forces—one tending toward expression and the other tending toward inhibition.

It has been stated that a voluntary act requires (1) an idea of the thing to be attained, (2) a desire for its attainment, (3) a belief in the possibilities of its realization, (4) a memory of similar action in the past, and (5) a sense of comfort or relief with the accompanying strain toward the establishment of the desired end. Accepting these for the time being, one perceives the manifold possibilities of interference with a voluntary activity. Any one of these five conditioning elements may be lacking.

How frequently does a child say: "What's the use?" "What good will it do me?" "I don't see where it's going to help me." "I don't think it's worth while." How frequently does the child remember his previous failure in efforts in the same direction! How often is there realization of an inability to bring things to pass! Around each of these is a cluster of associations involving emotional reactions that are of a powerful, obstructive, or impelling character. This is merely another way of stating the need of cognitive, affective, and conative elements in the release of energy.

Patently there is an implied judgment in volitional action, unless one accepts a psychological theory that fetters the freedom of the will. If all action is compounded merely of impulses arising through the sympathetic and parasympathetic systems, the problem of laziness becomes almost insuperable. If laziness is construed as a voluntary action, it is based upon a weakness in judgment as measured in terms of conventional opinion. Thus a clash is evident between the egocentric and the herd instincts. If there be a relative muscular inactivity despite a moderate degree of desire, the volition may be partially pre-determined by inhibitory emotional complexes, fear, or defective nutrition. Desire in itself does not guarantee activity; for example, a sense of hopelessness may inhibit all action, as may grief, anger, and similar emotional states. If one interprets desire as the consciousness of an emotional state, then will is determined by emotions. This is, however, contradicted by the frequent willingness to function against the temporary emotional urge. Conscious maladjustments, as well as those born of subconscious trends, are potent elements in prejudicing judgments when experience is limited. Affections, hatreds, and the like that develop from unpleasant home settings influence and condition willingness to act.

The habit of inactivity tends to decrease potential power and dries up the well-springs of human action. Repeated action itself tends to diminish fatiguability of the mind and body, whereas disuse of the bodily functions increases fatiguability. One readily grasps how repeated failure may condition habitual inactivity. The bursting asunder of the

## 182 The Challenge of Childhood

volitional restraints that lead to inactivity depends upon increasing and deepening the number of association patterns of success with their emotional tracery, particularly during childhood. Failure to accomplish this results in the persistence of the puerile attitude and the continuance of the fixed negative trends of this period until such time as more effective motivation may overcome the inhibitions.

By some, laziness might be interpreted as an exhibition of a return to infantilism. It is not Narcissism, nor does it appear to be the detachment of a pleasurable state as a determined end; neither does it involve the idea of a vegetative existence as the end and aim of life.

By process of elimination we have left but few instances in which, with either justice or propriety, a child's conduct may be characterized as "lazy." As terms of finality, too much use is made of such characterizations as lazy, loafer, sloucher, slacker, truant, dawdler, and the like. As characterizations these words should be regarded as indicative of symptoms or manifestations of disorder. It is wrong to punish children for so-called "laziness"—wrong to denounce them without first making a thorough investigation of the underlying reasons for their conduct. Only after study and thought, when no other definite cause for the conduct disorder can be determined, is one ever justified in regarding the laziness as basic,—that is, as a probable evidence of psychic constitutional inferiority. And certainly the inherently inferior child, already grievously penalized by nature in the struggle for existence, should not be forced to wear an opprobrious label for a character that is not in the least his fault.

### 27—Bert

**B**ERT, two and a half years old, was a restless sleeper. He wakened frequently during the night and either wished to eat or to climb up the walls.

This youngster was the only child of solicitous, intelligent, but uninformed parents. During the first year of his life a convulsion had occurred, probably of toxic origin. In consequence, extra care had been lavished upon the infant. His every move had been watched anxiously, and his desires

had never been thwarted. The family interest had centered in him as a precious art object to be guarded constantly and handled with care. A disproportionate solicitude and care had made him the center and periphery of the home. Now, however, his doting parents were confronted with a problem which distressed them. They wanted to sleep at night and did not relish getting up either to feed Bert or to safeguard him during his outbursts of wall climbing. Besides, they feared that his peculiar proclivities might be evidence of some serious disorder.

During his two and a half years of life, Bert had acquired an experience rich in emotions centering about his comfort, welfare, and happiness. The pleasure sensation being constantly sought for him, he had not been backward in appreciating its personal value. He had become self-assertive in demanding attention, and had indulged himself in his natural propensities for feeding. He had desired continued attention and food, which he found it possible to have whenever he wanted. Thus had begun a tyranny which extended into the night until his slaves sought a way through which they might find some rest. The dominating child had overplayed his emotions, and they had begun to hamper parental comfort. He was only a spoiled child enjoying too many rights and privileges.

Thus is evident, in a practical exposure of behavior, the early accumulation of tendencies to project the self into the world, and the ease with which it can be accomplished when parents are not wise.

Bert was not wholly unaware of the results of his domination, and already he had a vague consciousness of the means by which he had attained his ends. There was a definite need for inducing a conscious cessation of excessive self-satisfactions. It is simple to approach this type of mind by suggestion. Infancy and childhood are ever suggestible, and through direct or indirect suggestions great efforts can be made to foster training and development. The lack of inhibitions over subconscious desires call for curative action.

Indirect suggestion was easily made by explaining to the mother, in the presence of the child, the nature of her difficulty. She was told that advantage was being taken of her solicitude and maternal good nature, and that if she

## 184 The Challenge of Childhood

would pay no attention to Bert's demands at night the reason for their existence would disappear and he would sleep until morning. It was unnecessary to speak directly to the child, who was keenly interested in the conversation and alert to its meaning. As a final word, the mother was told that Bert had heard and understood the explanation. That night the desire to climb the walls disappeared; and the hungry restlessness lasted only two nights longer.

But Bert was not so easily cured. Like most tyrants, the little fellow was unwilling to give up without a struggle. He changed his tactics. In place of the discarded hunger and wall climbing he inaugurated a campaign of night vomiting. His mother took it for granted that the vomiting was the result of an ordinary intestinal disorder. Once more Bert secured the attention he coveted. But the purposeful element in his new departure was made patent to her and a new counter attack of suggestion was resorted to. The vomiting was not repeated.

Bert's bag of tricks was not yet emptied, however. He was a general of great resourcefulness. He adapted a new form of attack,—enuresis (bed-wetting), and cried out after its accomplishment. Again suggestion was resorted to, and the futility and unpleasantness of this phase was driven home to him.

The youngster capitulated. Thereafter he slept quietly and contentedly. So did his parents. He had tried all the tricks that had appeared to be most serviceable and had been checkmated in terms of understanding.

To designate this type of behaviour as due to the self-assertive instinct, plus the feeding instinct, is to assume that other instincts and emotions were inactive, which is contrary to the facts. While they may have played a dominant part in his conduct, they were harmonized in his scheme of thinking, planning, and judging in relation to all the other elements entering into his personality.

It is interesting to note the change from ingesting food to ejecting it, and the transfer of attention to the excretory system. If Bert had proceeded to develop incontinence of feces, he would have completed a cycle of familiar sphincteric experiences. But possibly he foresaw the inevitability of failure and sensed little reason to promote a greater

personal discomfort which would give little promise of greater success.

There is ample reason to believe that Bert possesses a high degree of susceptibility to impressions and an excellent responsiveness to environing influences. His approachability by indirect suggestion gives hope that his tendencies may be easily curbed, at least during the early period of childhood. To call him neurotic is not sufficient. A high degree of suggestibility was responsible for his behavior, and his parents had mistakenly set for him a pattern of attention that was beyond his requirements, but which he was not loath to enjoy and cultivate. The end-result was attributable to an excess of emotional stimulation, derived from parental reactions. This is the inherent hazard of an only child, and it accounts for many factors in his developing personality. A spoiled child is not essentially a neurotic child. The re-education of the child necessarily involves the re-education of the parents—which is often the more difficult of accomplishment.

## 28—Philip

**P**HILIP was a six year old boy, who suffered from persistent headaches. He never knew when they would attack him. They came at morning, noon, or night, and they persisted during varying periods of time. They were sufficiently intense to cause tears. There was no definite illness in his history to account for the origin of these headaches and for their continuance for more than two years. His eyes, blood, and kidneys were normal, and there had been no contagious disease or gastro-intestinal distress that might have lived on in the headaches. Philip was of average weight and height, and he showed energy and enthusiasm.

The lack of a discoverable physical basis for this annoying symptom suggested its origin in psychic conflict. There was apparently no clash of emotions or desires. His general instinctive life had had full opportunity for development, but there were emotional trends that demanded further explanation. Was there a latent Oedipus complex?

An elucidation of the facts cast further light upon this



## 186 The Challenge of Childhood

boy's difficulty. His mother, his grandmother, and an aunt were victims of migraine, and they suffered frequently from the agonizing distress of blinding headaches, often accompanied by vomiting. Hence all his life Philip had been exposed to an atmosphere of headache, with evidences of discomfort, and he had heard numerous discussions on how much a head hurts, and how little can be done under its pressure. By the time Philip was approximately four years old, he had gained a working knowledge of headaches that had a practical value. He noted that when mother had her headache the home revolved about her. She lay down, meals were brought to her on pretty trays, silence was urged on all, and father came home early and tried to be comforting. The headache was really maternal capital, whose investment possibilities Philip was unconsciously absorbing to a marked degree.

Then came the day of the vital experiment. Philip, wondering what would happen if he had a headache, claimed one. It was a profound success. The home went topsyturvy. There was bed, a doctor, toys, encouragement, affection, freedom for wish, caprice, and whim. The initial headache was an emotional triumph which brought him richest returns.

Thenceforth, headaches became part of his potent instrumentalities: he could not run errands because of headaches, he could not eat things he did not like, he could not obey, he could not tolerate being left alone at night. Headaches became the club through the use of which he insured service, constant attention, affection, companionship, toys, games, and what not. Familial sympathy was intense because all knew the cruelties of such pain as he claimed. To increase his joy in life he was offered numerous novelties, in the way of medicines, baths, massage, dietaries, and similar agencies designed to bring about relief. All were of no avail—the headaches were too advantageous to be given up.

There was no hidden love for mother, or jealousy of father, but simply an emotional state that arose from observation and imitation, curiosity and wonder, self-assertion and positive self-feeling. These acted as excitants to experiment, and Philip continued to profit by pleasurable,

dominant experience. Manifestly, the control of the child's emotional content and expression required a complete regeneration of the home attitude concerning headaches. This was a severe trial for the mother, as it involved breaking down a self-pitying, selfish habit of her daily life. Nevertheless, the subject of headaches became taboo, and household conversations were directed away from it. Further, it was suggested to the mother in the presence of the suspicious child, that open air exercises, running errands, discontinuing candies, putting to bed without toys or attendants would prove helpful. To be denied the very fruits that had been successfully gained by headaches blunted the edge of the tool. Indirect suggestion convinced Philip also that headaches, as real things, might cause distress and reaction, but that the spurious type would no longer be effective. Philip no longer found strength in assumed weakness, and he soon made the natural adjustment that the situation required.

An adaptation of this type is more easily corrected during childhood than in adult life after it has become a fixed habit whose early origins are less easily and certainly ascertained and defined. The continuous operation of a physical or emotional force tends to create a pattern reaction easily reproduced, which does not require the stimulus of the type that occasioned the original response. By the old expression, "Little pitchers have large ears," one sees that the alertness of juvenile mental processes was recognized long ago. It is also well-known that the imitativeness of children forms the foundation of early training. Their cerebral activities are beyond discernment, and their disregard of logic complicates adult judgment as to what they are going to do next. Therefore, an appreciation of their conscious or subconscious cerebration becomes more possible by proceeding from the overt act, through the conditioning factor, to the possible lines of association that unite muscles, intellect, emotions, and volitional activity.

While reflex action, especially the conditioned reflex, is of importance in habit formation, it does not serve to explain human activity, even though it may satisfy those who thus interpret animal behavior. A dependence upon conditioned reflexes is incompatible with the free exercise

## 188 The Challenge of Childhood

of volition. Volitional choice, determined from the gross experience of consciousness, inclusive of all substrata, is essential as a belief; otherwise man is irresponsible, and training or character formation is reduced to mechanical principles. Nor would it be possible to realize the rapid transformations in conduct that ensue from suggestion if there were no essential medium for the transmission, acceptance or rejection, and reorganization of impressions other than on the basis of conditioned reflex activity. Habits are grooves for energy release, but they may be dammed, deepened, or destroyed, even though the mechanisms whereby these changes occur are conjectural. The mere lack of definite scientific demonstration of the methodology does not invalidate the results any more than the non-existence of a definition of electricity hampers its utilization; or the indefiniteness of the nebular hypothesis precludes acceptance of the scientific phenomena attributed to the solar system.

Memory is an act of retention, but how is it secured? Perception is an act involving seeing, transmitting impressions, and interpreting them in the cerebral cortex, but this is physiology, and not essentially psychology. The sphere of mental activity has not been explored sufficiently to enable exactness of judgment, but experience and logic should be called upon in dealing with its phenomena.

It is evident that the emotional states of the environment induce reactions of children at an early age. Wherefore in the presence of children there is need for circumspection in action and words. Their behavior may be the resultant of imitation, of adoption with modification, or of original creations based upon what they have seen and heard in the home. And the family may not realize the part it has played in the beginnings of new emotional activity and unexplained conduct.

### 29—Clarence

CLARENCE, a six and a half year old boy, was alleged to be backward; in fact, though he was not aware of it, his mentality was in question.

His mother complained that Clarence talked very little,

that he was diffident, shy, resistant to authority, and easily angered by efforts to enforce his obedience.

His history was illuminating. He was the youngest of four children. Because he had been slow in learning to walk and to talk he had not yet gone to school. Thus, he had had no exposure to formal education,—no chance to prove either his mental capacity or his lack of it. And so in the home he had become the butt of the jibes and taunts of his older brothers and sister who, having begun their formal education, were all relatively, as well as absolutely, more advanced than Clarence. They teased him for his backwardness, calling him "idiot," "fool," and "no good." To escape their disconcerting judgments he had shrunk within himself, but at the same time he accepted their evaluation of him and lived up to their descriptions.

At our first interview Clarence stood with head cast down and eyes averted, unresponsive, self-contained, without any change of expression or any exhibition of curiosity in new surroundings. It would have been impossible to determine his I. Q., as his spell of isolation could not be penetrated—his was a shut-in personality which had thoroughly walled off the outer world. For the time being, therefore, the examination was waved.

In Clarence's presence his mother gave the information that he was stupid, that he did not play with other children and rarely spoke at home, that he was content to sit in a corner idling away his time and apparently doing nothing, probably without even thinking. When she tried to coerce the boy to approach me he held back with determined resoluteness, and he would not answer questions. When, however, she was told to leave him alone and allow him to come of his own accord, he slowly and suspiciously approached until finally he could be helped onto my lap.

Questions were numerous before Clarence reluctantly vouchsafed a single monosyllable. Finally, after many gentle methods had been tried, he admitted that he liked dogs, and a book about them was promised him. A gleam of almost friendly doubt appeared in his eyes for a moment, and then died out. But it came again a moment later when his mother was told that he was a fine little chap and that he was probably the brightest one in the family.

## 190 The Challenge of Childhood

While he had not said "yes" or "no" six times, and his replies had been no more extensive, already there was an entering wedge into his personality. His shell was pierced. Clarence had come in contact with a friendly person who believed in him, and there was a prompt emotional reaction. At the next visit he received his book on dogs. He pointed out the picture he liked best and almost smiled as he hurried away with it.

The coöperation of his family was sought and obtained. All teasing ceased, and within two weeks he emerged as a talker, playful and happy. His entry to school was accompanied by a new set of experiences. Class work interested him, and he did his work well. Normal activity resulted, and in fact he appeared to be making up for lost time by loquacity and hyperactivity. At this time, his I. Q. was determined, and he was found to possess a superior type of cerebral endowment. All suspicion as to mental incapacity fell away when the emotional disorder was revealed in its active stage.

The peculiar constituents of Clarence's personality had permitted him to accept an inferiority pressed upon him by his family. He had developed a high degree of self-abasement, not offset by aggressiveness. The constant stigmatizing had affected him seriously by inducing a perilous degree of negative self-feeling. He had drawn in most of his gangplanks and had become a solitary passenger on the sea of juvenile life. Isolation, seclusiveness, self-absorption, reticence, inactivity, and sadness had become his sphere. The elements characterizing an early victim of dementia precox had been present. There had been little emotional drainage into the world stream. Verbal self-expression had been impossible and day dreams few. Until chance had brought Clarence an opportunity to think of self in terms of esteem and capabilities, there had been no stimuli to make him forget or exalt himself. This contact was sufficient to shift the pressure, and the emotional load was carried by a larger and an exalted personality. Finally, the emergence of the emotions that had been under restraint gave new energy and produced latent power, which induced an expansion of his being. His emotional adjustment had

required but slight changes in his environment. The basis of normalized activity lay in his psychic readjustment.

Childhood is characterized by energy and movement, most of which arises through social stimulation. Solitude, ostracism, self-denial, or enforced isolation from companions decrease energy, and consequently they promote inactivity. Childhood responds to praise and blame, encouragement and discouragement, affection and hatred, kindness and abuse, favorable and unfavorable opinions of others, suppression and freedom. It reacts to competition and strife, comparison and contrast. Fears, doubts, anger, and similar emotional states develop which influence the somatic and psychic mechanisms in a mysterious manner, and the conduct of the child betokens their effects.

Why one child succeeds in evolving a delightful personality in the face of thwarted desires, and another fails to attain equal success on the basis of continued approval is beyond simple explanation. The fact that emotional activity is complex, and that it is single emotions that are analyzed probably accounts for the failure to interpret behavior. The synthesis of unit emotions does not create the identical state of mind from which they were analyzed. One may take a machine to pieces and ascertain all its individual parts, and upon reconstruction fail to have the original mechanism. Emotional activity is a composite blend, or federation, of particular emotions which lose much of their specific character in the process of adaptation and adjustment to life situations. Similar stimuli do not even-tuate in similar actions under varying situations. A rebuke in the privacy of the home induces quite different effects from the same rebuke in public. A just criticism has different reactions from those stimulated by unjust criticisms. A request to look after the baby arouses different feelings on a rainy day and on another day when the sunshine and the call to baseball are in the air. Even with a knowledge of past emotional experience and some understanding of the part the external setting may play in overturning a static attitude, the predictability of emotional response is difficult.

That childhood is the happiest time of life is a fiction that reflects the adult's wish for youth as his own energies



## 192 The Challenge of Childhood

begin to wane. Childhood may be filled with sorrow, doubt, grief, anxiety, fears, anger, disgust, shame, discouragement, and despair, as well as with joy, confidence, enthusiasm, courage, pride, elation, and exaltation. At best, every childhood stores away memories of some unhappiness, injustice, or anxiety. The child is the resultant of continuous childhood experience and evolution. The balance of elevating and depressing emotions may determine stability at any time, but it takes little to break up the harmony and liberate energies that appear disproportionate to the exciting cause. The behavior of children, therefore, involves a practical inquiry into the emotional balance and dominance, and their probable interaction upon the inherent qualities of personality—as reflected in conduct.

### 30—Theresa

Theresa was a very nervous, seven year old girl, who bit her nails and walked in her sleep. At home she was disobedient, easily angered, and always irritable, though at school her conduct was beyond reproach and her accomplishments were satisfactory. Her I. Q. was 128, indicative of a very excellent cerebral endowment.

An integral part of Theresa's problem was a five year old brother whose training had been the subject of considerable thought to the mother. Realizing her lack of training for motherhood she had supplemented her own experience by attending lectures and with occasional reading on the subject of child psychology. A lecturer had pointed out the necessity for inculcating a sense of chivalry among boys, and had suggested various means of accomplishing this end. In accordance with her understanding of the principle the mother had encouraged chivalry in the four year old boy. He had become the protector of his six year old sister, had accompanied her on errands, directed her crossing of the streets, and gradually had taken a dictatorial attitude that few knights could have assumed towards their fair ladies. As an authorized agent he had found joy in his functions.

No more rigorous disciplinary system is thinkable than that bound up in juvenile czardom. Theresa, as might have

been expected, resented the superimposed guardianship of a little brother. She chafed under his supervision, direction, and tale-bearing. Her pride was assaulted when he was spoken of as a little man whose duty it was to take care of her.

In the inevitable conflicts that developed between brother and sister, the guardian of law and order was always upheld. Chivalry triumphed, while punishment was invariably the lot of Theresa. But maternal decrees could not alter the girl's physical and psychic evolution. A subconscious conflict developed, culminating in a serious emotional storm. Her dignity, her self-respect, her sense of injustice in penalties, her sense of humiliation, her desire for the esteem of her companions, the consciousness of physical disparity, of intolerable restraints, of her own superiority, —all these and many other factors welled up in a general upheaval of personality and its various reflecting surfaces. The mother, blind to this psychic turmoil, failed to note the child's self-assertion growing into force on a rising tide of anger and disgust. But Theresa, realizing that her mother was responsible for her brother's actions, broke into open revolt, not only against his tutelage, but against her mother's authority as well. Maternal desires of any sort became trifles of little moment. Chronic irritability became Theresa's mood, and disobedience her ruling passion, while anger was ever ready to burst forth as occasion demanded.

This emotional storm had its dire effects upon her nervous system. Automatic physical responses quickly developed. One after another, restlessness, a sniffing tic, somnambulism, and choreiform movements appeared. The mother, seeing these things, became alarmed.

Obviously the administration of Fowler's solution for the choreic movements could not check the progress of such a personality disorder. The beautiful dream of chivalric training had to be dissipated. The tyrant's power was curbed, and the fair lady was released from a nerve-racking thralldom. The consequences were soon noted. Following the decline of emotional excitation Theresa was gradually relieved of her physical symptoms.

But quite naturally this solution of the problem brought

## 194 The Challenge of Childhood

about another. It was hardly to be expected that a five year old boy would willingly yield rights and privileges as established by the maternal constitution. The cutting off of his power was accompanied by a rebellion which was not quickly put down. His previous record of obedience, manliness, and chivalry was shattered. The brother-sister relation now became one of open warfare. The amendments to the constitution, imposed through my advice, were resented, denied recognition, opposed, followed, or misinterpreted, according to the children's ideas of the needs of each situation. But a gradual readjustment of attitude finally brought about a *modus vivendi* that satisfied everyone in the home.

This was merely the straightening out of a particular problem and not the final status of the brother-sister relation. It is doubtful if the ideas inculcated in the boy have been eradicated. The sense of chivalry, with all its emotional satisfactions, has made a strong impression, and it will undoubtedly crop out at a later time to his advantage. The patterns of conduct of Theresa have indicated some of her potentials and the possibilities to her future development of thwarted desires, interests, and purposes. There is sufficient evidence that her emotional life may require guidance and direction; and there is a suggestion that her maternal and fraternal reactions will call for cautious supervision.

The volcano possesses latent energy whose conversion into an active force cannot be foretold save by seismic rumblings. Before it becomes extinct it may smoke, belch forth flame, fine ash, molten rock, and flowing devastating lava, or there may be shakings, rumblings, formation of new cones, crevices, and other manifestations, destructive and constructive, which leave the volcano live and powerful. Some of this volcanic force is resident in childhood, and it will continue into adult life unless it subsides or is controlled.

The enlargement of social contact of children begins within the family circle, from the earliest mother recognition to the interaction with all the various members of the family or household. Here we have the first testing laboratory of the self in all its ramifications. The finding out

of self is a gradual and continuous process which secures its impetus by the effect of the home upon its native forces. The self, in its rolling progress, takes on and loses material. The selfishness of children is merely selfness, and its growth is modified by an accretion of social influences. Self-esteem, self-reproach, self-doubt, self-confidence, self-pity, self-appreciation, self-aggrandizement, self-exaltation, are affected by the intangible atmosphere of the home no less than by words, training, education, actions, and looks. Stimulation and inhibition, praise and blame, pleasure and pain, joy and sorrow are vital in emotional nurture. Un-reasoning childhood is not particularly sensitive and susceptible to influence except in terms of self. In order to socialize children's lives we must recognize that others exist only as parts of the child's self. The alter ego is not a thing apart from the child's self but an expansion of it, with adequate recompense. The development of the personality at all ages depends upon certain factors involving instinctive evolution and emotional development, which fuse in judgment, deliberation, choice, and volition. It is as difficult to define the self—ego—or personality—in terms that are scientifically satisfactory, as it is to enunciate a complete, interpretative definition of an emotion. A state of tension—a feeling of imbalance of organic sensations—an organic registration of reactivity—neuromuscular, visceral, psychic currents in a state of harmonization—all these are possible, defensible definitions, but they do not hint at the endogenous and exogenous origins, nor reflect the kinesthetic responses, nor suggest their linked-up attachment to instinctive life.

The emotional development is inextricably bound up in characteristics which, in themselves, possess shades of feeling. Belief and credulity, doubt and inquiry, imitation and construction, the powers of analysis and synthesis, gregariousness and seclusiveness, masculinity and femininity, ego-centripetal and ego-centrifugal ideation, unite to form personality, to qualify intellectual life, to color emotional growth, and to activate habits of conduct. These are all in personality, and they all condition it; but at the same time they arise from personality and are determined by it.

## 196 The Challenge of Childhood

### 31—Caroline

CAROLINE was a pallid, gentle little girl, nine years and seven months old. She cried easily, was nervous and hysterical, and her mother said that she told lies.

Caroline's I. Q. was 98, which denoted a mental equipment quite adequate for the ordinary work of life. As part of her general background, however, there was a psychotic trend of her mother, suggestive of a delusion of persecution. Furthermore, there was a home situation, involving marital infelicity and antagonism, acute enough to explain Caroline's emotional disturbances.

Because of her extreme sensitiveness Caroline was not allowed to play with other children, and save for the momentary contacts with them on her way to and from school, she had no other companionship than her mother's. The effect of this was to deprive her of natural emotional outlets and to plunge her into the miseries of an adult world of conflict and cruelty. In the chronic antagonism between her parents she became not merely a conscious neutral spectator, but the actual ally of her mother.

Caroline's acute emotional disorder dated from the time when she had first seen her father beat her mother. On that occasion her emotional feeling had run high. She had wanted to intervene, but fear had held her powerless, and she had cringed before the brutal exhibition. Fear and anger had been at war in her, but fear had dominated the situation. A mental conflict thus developed involving her attitude toward her parents. She revolted at the idea of paternal brutality, and she could not understand why her mother tolerated it. Though she wanted to flee the situation she felt bound by duty to stay, in the hope that upon some future occasion she might assist her mother or, failing again, might console her in her distress. Out of this conflict of impulses there developed a mood of abject depression, with frequent and copious weeping.

Her psychic structure was not firm enough to stand such emotional ravages, and soon her weakness became manifest in hysterical outbreaks, of which the most serious and significant was an attack of hysterical blindness. This was probably an attempt to shut out the world of trouble, sor-

row, cruelty, and oppressions in which Caroline and her mother were engulfed. Her depressions were probably fear flights that paralyzed her activity and further diminished the expression of her desires, already greatly limited through constant attendance upon her mother.

But soon even flight became inadequate. It failed to satisfy her innate desire for achievement, for revenge, for aggression, and for superiority to the devitalizing conditions under which she was forced to live. Love and hate battled in her; pity and sympathy gave place to anguish and despair. On all sides her personality was assaulted, and she saw no chance of escape. Her emotional life overshadowed and overwhelmed her. The real world being abhorrent to her, she became submerged in spirit and took refuge in dreams. A reverie developed in which play, success, and benevolent figures enacted satisfying and antidoting parts. From the cheeriness of silence and solitude Caroline transferred her dream pleasures to life. They became phantasies, which to her mother seemed but indefensible and inexplicable lies.

Caroline and her mother had wept together, they had shared the same blows, and had endeavored to live with a dulled consciousness of their mode of relief. And now her mother was mistrusting her, telling her that she lied, and doubting her inherent desire to help. Depression became greater, and phantasy tried to atone for it. A vicious circle of mental conflicts was breaking down the customary modes of association, reasoning, and judgment. Caroline's subconscious life was pressing upward for realization, and the responses of her entire organism were being pulled and warped out of accepted normality.

Childhood is by nature active, cheerful, smiling, honest, confident, and it faces the world as it is with courage, hope, and determination. In Caroline the volitional element of mind was apparently seeking an outlet to live freely, but was being blocked in the realm of facts. In consequence, an emotional disharmony resulted, and in her subconscious efforts to adjust matters her conduct underwent marked and serious alterations. A mechanism of escape was utilized, which gave evidence of the profound changes going on in her emotional life.

Be it noted that there has been no suggestion of a sexual



## 198 The Challenge of Childhood

factor in the development of these hysterical phenomena of conversion. The situation was one that could be interpreted without difficulty in terms of natural ego reactions and emotions arising from social experiences in conflict with self-expansion. The general atmosphere of the home, the patterns of action and the exchange of words, the lack of childish companionships, fears, anger, love, hate, disgust, found their expression in the child as a melody vibrates from a violin when fingers press upon the frets and the bow passes over the strings with varying pauses and intensities.

Caroline was not wholly responsible and, therefore, punishment could exert little influence upon her behavior. The employment of direct and indirect suggestion could not transform the home but might be of service in shifting her attitude respecting it, although in what manner it was difficult to determine. There was more need to release her from countless inhibitions due to the mother-child relation than to seek the part that earlier infantile impressions might be playing. Hence the mother was encouraged to let Caroline play freely with other children, and to cease sharing her unpleasant thoughts and reflections with her daughter, who had difficulty enough in living her own life without the additional burden that was put upon her. Caroline was constantly immersed in an unfit adult world, for which, and in which, she was wholly untrained and unadjusted. She had been thrown into an emotional whirlpool before she had learned to swim in a regular swimming hole. She would have been similarly shocked and bruised had she been obliged to hold and fire a 38 calibre, double-barreled shotgun.

It was evident that the home ties had to be cut for a time to permit a reorganization of emotional life. But to have sent Caroline from home at once, without beginning the readjustment of the maternal position and sentiments, would have carried out the escape principle without facing the real facts of environment. Therefore an effort was directed towards clarifying the emotional situation. Gradually Caroline's behavior became quieter, the periods of weeping became less frequent and of shorter duration, and smiling activity emerged. More important was the discontinuance

of her phantasy as marked in false statements, and the mother perceived again the honest trends of her daughter. Caroline's whole personality reacted with positive self-feeling, and she gained a sight of the possibility of regeneration in terms of self-respect, optimism, and social appreciation. She saw new opportunities for growth and strength in a temporary visit away from home, which at this time was no longer a flight from circumstances but a chance to re-create her personality.

The end-result was a reasonable degree of emotional stabilization. But it must not be imagined that the modification in conduct was an unbroken, upward course. There were numerous shifts with varying daily experiences. But as the subconscious disturbances subsided, progress became more and more regular and consistent. In the end Caroline's behavior was under reasonable control of her thinking consciousness, quite free from the dictatorship of the vegetative nervous system and its subconscious energies.

But, of course, while the actual home conflict remains unsolved the permanent influences are not predictable. At any rate, an episode is successfully ended, and a dangerous mental state, which has interfered with Caroline's harmonious development, is overcome.

### 32—Pietro

**P** IETRO was an undersized Italian boy, who had "fits of temper" and was said to be "bad," disobedient, and stubborn.

C. A.  $8\frac{1}{2}$ , M. A.  $7\frac{1}{2}$ , I. Q. 93, and Basal Age VII.

Pietro had a congenital defect of vision, which was a stigma of degeneration. His appetite was capricious. When he was examined he was definitely shy with me, and at first he was disposed to be laconic and non-committal in his answers.

Pietro had been on a visit to Italy with his mother and younger brother and had attended school there for a year. Since his return to this country his school work had been of poor quality. His mother spoke Italian, which was the language of the home, although his father had no difficulty

## 200 The Challenge of Childhood

with English. Pietro's mother had a sense of superiority. She had literary ideals and took an interest in music. Her husband did not share these interests, and there was an undercurrent of marital dissatisfaction. Indeed, it would be possible to mention a large variety of factors, all of which had some bearing on Pietro's case, but only those which definitely affected his behavior will be considered here.

Because he enjoyed excitement, Pietro always sought adventure. He preferred those games in which guns and stilettoes are necessary. The movies enthralled him, particularly those of a lurid vendetta type, or others involving murder, bloodshed, and general excitement. As cheap movies were numerous in his neighborhood he went almost daily, making life miserable for his mother until she gave him the five cents for admission. Frequently he did not return home for his evening meal and sometimes he would not put in an appearance until late at night.

The family had but recently moved into their home and Pietro had no friends in the neighborhood. He was challenged by other boys or called names that he resented, and regardless of the size of his adversary he dared to fight in defense of his self-respect, his family, and his Italian heritage. But his parents regarded this fighting as "badness." Running errands for his mother was an abomination, but worst of all was being kept at home to play with his four year old brother. Quite often he would take it out on the youngster by spanking him just as he himself had been spanked by his father. The "licking" was the sole punishment that Pietro knew. No matter what his offense or at what time of the day committed, the invariable rule was for punishment to be postponed until the father's return from business, when he would administer the beating through which he sought to pound obedience, respect, and submission into Pietro.

But Pietro was not amenable to control through physical pain. He wanted his way and he got it, even at the price of severe corporal punishment. His anger was an explosive tantrum, not wholly beyond his control, however, as "when he was maddest he ran out of the house from the

licking that was sure to follow." This running away was another indication of his "badness."

It is hard to grasp the sharp contrast between Pietro's conduct and his weak appearance, docile expression, lurking doubt, suspicion, and fear. Many boys are good merely because they lack the energy to be anything else; some boys are "bad" only because they crave excitement, because they are constantly seeking adventures and new experiences for the sake of the thrills they bring.

To the latter group belonged Pietro, who possessed ample energy and an emotional power that mobilized quickly. He profited by experience. He was spanked and he spanked. He was denied his wishes; he refused to comply with the wishes of others. His parents oppressed him; he annoyed them. Because his mother made him care for the baby or run errands when he wanted to play, he never wanted to do anything his mother asked him to do. Because he refused to go after food which he was to share, it seemed foolish to have an appetite; and this resulted in malnutrition, irregular eating, caprice in the selection of foods, and particular aversion to the foods urged by his mother.

Pietro's personality was in an emotional revolt. His self-assertion was demanding an outlet. Denied its freedom, he rallied his pugnacious anger and fought along the lines that he believed would prove successful. Pietro stood condemned by adult measures of conduct. His "badness" was his failure to accept that measure—for no single trait that he had exhibited deserved elimination. His virtues had become vices by hypertrophy of function. His unusual displays of emotional reaction were called forth by efforts to socialize him and to develop a sample of his mother's ideal.

It is patent that the motive to help others is most effective when it involves self-benefit. It becomes antisocial in effect when it curbs the self. The expansion of the self concept to include others is not rapidly developed, nor is it anxiously sought by children, and efforts to bring it out by punitive measures are inconsistent. The "it-hurts-me-more-than-you" principle does not offset the pain, nor does it heighten the influence of the alleged worth of kind words. Behavior

## 202 The Challenge of Childhood

born of fear is not identical with that prompted by love, despite superficial similarities. Obedience through fear is founded on a compulsive element,—an egotistic escape motive, which is effective in the presence of the feared object but is otherwise undependable. Obedience through love, and consequent choice by desire, possesses the social value of self-expansion that is more reliable in the absence of the loved object. Personality and its emotional components must be properly fed with nourishing pabulum. To tell a child constantly that he is bad, naughty, useless, lazy, a fool, or a stupid thing stresses weakness of character and emphasizes the futility of being. There is a cutting back of expansion and an acidifying of the soil that interferes with proper growth. Rewarding helpful action, encouraging thoughtful deeds, and the liberal use of praise accomplish more of a stimulative nature than is possible through continuous penalization for conduct that is out of harmony with the desires and standards of adults.

Punishment is to be construed as an agency with a purpose beyond satisfying parental anger, disapproval, and emotional instability. The penalty should not be an end, but a means to affect child personality. Therefore, its nature, use, and frequency should be determined in relation to the particular child whose evolution is being fostered. The panacea penalty does not exist, any more than does a uniform type of juvenile personality. Children vary greatly in their sensitiveness to corrective practices. They may admit the reasonable need of punishment and revolt against the method employed. They, too, are keen in discriminating values. They recognize the fairness and the justice of penalties, and they evaluate their effects upon themselves. Nevertheless, they weigh their desires in terms of results. The wish for power, achievement, and adventure is bound up in a vigorous emotional urge, and a child will attempt much and risk much to establish his self idea to his own satisfaction, or give himself the spotlight of prominence in the attention of others. One may resort to theft, and another may go promptly to bed, in order to secure similar feelings of satisfaction. A third type will burst forth into a tantrum, while another washes his neck without being told.

There may not always be an attainment of the juvenile goal, but there is pleasure in the seeking. The failure of the last step cannot destroy the sense of satisfaction derived from the steps antedating the complete thwarting of purpose. Shame, disgust, a desire for revenge, a determination to succeed next time, a new fear of discovery or punishment, an idea of evoking larger sympathy, a feeling of importance or repentance, or a sense of superiority or inferiority may follow success or failure of any single enterprise dependent upon the native emotions, the parental and social reactions, and the sum total of personality influences created by the situation in its entirety.

To tell a child that he should not show anger is absurd, particularly as he witnesses too frequent exhibitions of anger among adults. To say that "nice people" do not do this and that is to call attention to the amazing scarcity of "nice people," and, incidentally, hardly fair to the family friends. It is not necessary, or even advisable, to attempt to eliminate a child's anger. What should be impressed upon him is self-control and the restriction of anger to such occasions as really merit its use. And this can best be done by good example on the part of the parents and by their thoughtful control of the child's environment. Repression and efforts at forceful inhibition often prove more harmful than beneficial. Decreasing the opportunities for explosiveness lessens the repetitions, and decreases the habit tendency. Further, cultivating other elements of personality, as humor, imagination, positive self-feeling, and desire for power, afford practical measures for short-circuiting energy into less enervating channels. The tantrum is merely a symptom of emotional imbalance, although it does not indicate its basic origin, nor suggest the specific measures essential to its final control and absorption into a useful form of activity.

The play life is destined to work off a large amount of available energy, but more valuable is its service for the testing out of the self in terms of relations to others. The child's world is real, active, and vibrant. Self hits self—all the ego is in strife, conflict, and adjustment. Competition, rivalry, emulation, stimulation, and depression combine to affect the desire of the self for superiority in the



## 204 The Challenge of Childhood

presence of others. Leadership, initiative, imagination, constructiveness, dramatic, artistic, and literary values are asserted, and the social phase of personality receives new impetus. The home is in severe competition with the new world of juvenile activity. Hence a wide range of conduct results from the conflict between the free action of the juvenile group and the restricting, suppressing, thwarting characteristics of the adult standardized home. This becomes more patent in crowded, small-roomed apartments, contrasted with the streets, parks, or wide open spaces.

When Pietro's father gave up corporal punishment and sought to win his son by playing games with him, he elicited a new response, and Pietro's conduct underwent such a change that the deprivation of a game of checkers with his father became a more efficacious punishment than "lickings" had ever been. It was by such methods,—by eliminating corporal punishment, by permitting him larger play time with other boys, by giving him a small weekly allowance, by going with him to selected movies, by praising him and encouraging him whenever possible, and by never calling him derogatory names,—that Pietro's emotional stability was finally established. Gradually his disobedience, stubbornness, and temper subsided, and a more tranquil atmosphere resulted. His self-assertiveness became redirected in harmony with his instinctive reactions, and his resultant emotional activities were energized in more advantageous pleasures. Pietro's self-developed trends were conducive to agreeable social living within the family circle and among his companions of school and playground.

### 33—Margaret

MARGARET, seven years old, was a bright-faced but subdued child, who was lacking in initiative. Her school work was of excellent quality and her conduct exemplary. But she had few companions. Her intelligent mother was disturbed at her physical inactivity and her tendency to sit about the house doing practically nothing but read.

The physical condition of the child indicated no organic reason for inactivity, nor was there any suggestion of a

reason for possible fatigue. Her past history revealed that her growing disinclination to play began after her entrance into school. Margaret's adequate capacity for acquiring knowledge had been strengthened by undoubted enthusiasm, and her educational interest had been real. The growth of diminished energy, however, was synchronous with another event, which her mother had disregarded as a possible disturbing factor. Margaret's maternal grandmother had become a widow and thereupon had taken up residence in her daughter's home. Her grief, isolation, and nervousness made her the center of interest and solicitude. The affairs of the home were regulated and guided to meet her needs, comforts, and desires. And Margaret, the only granddaughter, was ensnared by the situation. Silence and quiet were constantly enjoined lest grandmother be annoyed. Building trains with chairs caused noise that grated upon irritable nerves. The merry peals of childish laughter, the high pitched cries of remonstrance, the gay jumping, climbing, banging, thumping of little girls were unbearable. Grandmother was resting, or preparing to lie down, or had a headache, or "just couldn't stand it." At times little visitors were sent home or reprimanded for their thoughtlessness, carelessness, noisiness, and Margaret was told how wrong it was to make mother and grandmother unhappy. Margaret might play at the homes of other children but if her friends came to her they must calm down and be quiet.

Thus the grandmother unconsciously had usurped the privileges of a home that rightfully belonged to Margaret. The life nearly spent had pre-empted the setting of the life barely begun. A world of negation,—of don'ts and mustn'ts,—had replaced the normal atmosphere of the home, and the little girl had succumbed to it. Margaret's self-aggression gave way to abasement. But there was no apparent revulsion of feeling in either anger or disgust. There was no revolt. She simply accepted the easiest way out by giving her grandmother the right of way.

It is not necessary to discuss the rather obvious moral or ethical elements involved. It is evident that the essential emotional responses of childhood were being thwarted.

## 206 The Challenge of Childhood

Other children, under similar circumstances, would have revolted, or would have become jealous of the diverted attention, or have compensated by increased activity outside of the home. Margaret happened to lack the personality traits of the aggressive type. Her self-assertiveness was weakly developed, although she had no lack of available energy. Her interest in life was being killed by "don'ting." Her inner life became her refuge from the repeated sting of disappointments. Only the tranquility of her emotions saved her from becoming grouchy or disgruntled. At heart Margaret was sick and disgusted but not sufficiently stirred actively to resent the situation. Her instinctive reactions were not of high potency because her positive emotions were too easily subordinated. Her socialization demanded more consideration for her grandmother than her parents required for themselves. But Margaret's self could not make the necessary adaptation in conduct without foregoing her play interests and enthusiasms. The reprimands, the humiliation of having her little friends sent home, and the constant stress of giving conscious thought to what should have been automatic activity, proved too much of a strain. Wherefore she forsook her friends, diminished her activity, and withdrew into her own consciousness.

Constant repression dulls the stimulus to activity, and unless the emotional change is intensified by the repression there is little upheaval. Slowly the idea of futility, abasement, indifference, and "what's the use" leads to self-abnegation. Introspective trends may arise, and then the child seeks, and often finds, a form of gratification in self-exploration. Its own bodily sensations, thoughts, sentiments, emotions, and imageries feed the personality and mould it variously, with modifications of conscious and subconscious behavior.

Fortunately, after it had been pointed out to her, Margaret's mother was quick to realize the possibilities of continued repression. As a result, it was possible to make the grandmother see that she was living in a child's home. By tactful explanation, age was discouraged from sapping further the emotional and physical energies of childhood.

The incubus released, there was an immediate emotional response. Latent energy was called forth, feelings took on new values, and spontaneous activity returned. New interests were kindled, new companionships formed, and new excitements and enthusiasms resulted. The spontaneity of childhood is its peculiar charm; its enthusiastic reactions are indicative of healthful cerebration. Physical and mental activity are coördinated by the emotional quality inherent in them, and produced by them. Life without action is fatiguing, monotonous, enervating, deadly, vegetative. Childhood craves excitement and secures it through stimulation, exhilaration, enthusiasm, and interest. In the inherent irritability of protoplasm lies its facility to respond to a stimulus. Stimuli which create the tingling responses felt throughout the body, as, for example, deprivation, surprise, reward, fright, and the like, are the most exciting to the nervous system and all its ramifications, including the emotional sphere of activity.

Childhood is diffuse in its earliest efforts, and whether one considers muscular coördination, emotional stability, deliberative choice, or volitional judgments, it requires many years for particularized power to develop. The adult is nearly always conscious of the loosely assembled machinery of child activity, but he too seldom recognizes that the child operator is only learning to use it. In childhood, controlling devices are far from their final adjustment; parts are being tried in a variety of active combinations. Inevitably, noisy, jangling, unholy sounds result,—sounds which the adult would listen to far more tolerantly if they emanated from his new automobile. A quiet child should be the subject of a thoughtful investigation; so should one who is always clean, or one who always does just as he is told. Quiet, cleanliness, and implicit obedience are adult standards whose real purpose is to insure parental comfort. Moreover, they are standards that, when they were children, the present generation of parents also honored more in the breach than in the observance. Childhood is so busy with its own growth and development that it has neither time, nor the ability, to construct a set of rules and regulations for its elders. Perhaps it is just as well.

## 208 The Challenge of Childhood

### 34—Christopher

CHRISTOPHER was eleven years old. He stole, lied, disobeyed, ran away from home, was generally uncontrolled, and, it was alleged, incorrigible so that the question of commitment had arisen. A severe cardiac disorder afflicted him. As his I. Q. was only 78, and his mental age only  $8\frac{1}{2}$  years, he was well placed in the third grade.

A combination of physical, mental, moral, and social factors had eventuated in misconduct of a serious character. Cardiopath, mental dullard, moral deficient, anti-social boy, he received little consideration or sympathy from those about him. Commitment presented the easiest solution from the standpoint of the home, regardless of its possible effects upon Christopher himself. Institutional care should have been the last recourse rather than the first,—for with a little understanding it is often possible to save a child from an experience which is usually unwarranted.

Christopher appropriated money to buy candy and other sweets which he shared with others. His initiation into this form of adventure had taken place under the tutelage of an older boy, who had easily made a pawn of the duller-minded child. As a growing boy, Christopher had numerous little wants in line with those of his companions; but he had no resources of his own to meet these needs,—none, that is, save the urge to acquire them, the feeling of pleasure in acquisition, and a sense of attainment in finally procuring what he wished. In Christopher the "mine and thine" discrimination was exceedingly weak in moral foundation. He had wants and he aimed to satisfy them regardless of the fact that his peculations were quickly discovered, and that corporal punishment promptly followed. The satisfaction of his urge was not nullified by the temporary pain of a spanking. Being called a thief and a crook only tended to confirm him in his practice on the principle that having the name he might as well have the game. He was constantly under suspicion, and was held responsible for anything that could not be found in the home. Even when another one of the four children was guilty Christopher was immediately accused, and if he denied the act he was further adjudged guilty of falsehood.

Untruthfulness is bound up in all speculation. The trend to self-defense is ever present; and denial of wrong-doing is almost automatic. Fear of consequence is a strong motive, but there is added a certain feeling of wanting to fight the adventure through successfully regardless of falsification. To maintain self-respect, to gain confidence in one's ability to overcome others, to have the gratification of a real serial adventure, untruth becomes a mental tool rather than an end. In phantasy, the pleasure exists in the emotional content of the tale and in its effect upon others. In lying, the satisfaction is bound up in the positive end-result—securing an escape from punishment, or gaining a sense of superiority over the believer.

The bond between speculation and prevarication is close, for they are merely variations of dishonesty, the former directed towards objects, the latter towards persons. Obviously this does not imply the constant association of the two traits, nor does it suggest the manifold origins of either one in emotional reactions. In this instance, the causation lay in a general undercurrent of discontent, unhappiness, and a blocking of the natural desires and emotional expansion.

Christopher's severe cardiac lesion deprived him of the natural outlets for physical energy, and relegated him to a passive rôle in exciting or competitive activity. But because the best baseball game was on Sunday and his father believed it wrong to enjoy such pleasures on the Sabbath, Christopher could not secure an adequate feeling of exhilaration. Therefore he revolted against church attendance in the morning and took his pleasure in blocking his father's wishes. Disobedience was encouraged by the suppressed energy seeking agreeable outlets. He had a bad name and it became capitalized in action.

There was another conflict that had great bearing upon his conduct. A sister, only a few years older, was his enemy. She could entertain no belief of good in him; she fought with him, made constant accusation, and bore tales concerning him which resulted in his punishment without a hearing. She admitted a hatred for him, which he cordially reciprocated. It is therefore understandable why most of his pecuniary speculations were from her purse or



## 210 The Challenge of Childhood

bureau drawer. As the dominant measure of successful living with his sister, warfare standards had been adopted. In truth, he was at war with his home. At times he sought relief in flight, which in turn made him seem the incorrigible runaway boy.

Because his illness had been responsible for much absence from school, his conduct there was not a source of difficulty, even though he was three years over age for his class. Unaware of his own dull mentality he did not feel humiliated at his school failure; he accounted for it by reason of ill health. In fact, Christopher had been definitely stigmatized as a "cardiac," and he accepted this as a complete explanation of many of his difficulties. His generally good behavior at school and in the company of others, his apparent receptivity of suggestions, and his desire for social approval pointed to the basic origin of his home conduct; the modifications of his emotional life appeared to be a consequence of cardiac disease and dull mentality.

The phases of activity that Christopher manifested were not entirely devoid of valuable emotional attachments. There were weeds of character capable of transplantation, cultivation, and social utilization. He was self-assertive, pugnacious, fearful, acquisitive; desiring love, he was moved by hate; denied natural expression, he found his own means of activation; handicapped by congenital and acquired defects, he lacked the capacity to reason out the best method of circumventing them. He was in conflict with his sister, his parents, his church, and his home. He was neither jealous of his father, nor in love with his mother, nor Narcissistic, nor did Freudian remnants of infantile experiences determine his animosities or dominate his thinking and doing. His emotions were born of anger and hatred, fear and disgust, hunger, thwarting, limitation, a sense of injustice, a desire for approbation, as well as the spirit of adventure, a wish for opportunity and self-success, a yearning for affection, encouragement, and coöperative understanding. What a witch's cauldron of teeming urges! Little wonder that he lied, stole, ran away from home, disobeyed, and seemed incorrigible!

The correction and improvement of Christopher depended upon the corrigibility of the offending and offensive

situations productive of conflict. Inasmuch as his sister appeared to be the most disturbing element, the necessary leverage was applied to her, and she was moved in the right direction. The Sunday problem was solved by a compromise—morning church and afternoon ball game; all corporal punishment was suspended; a weekly allowance was provided; and the home attitude was adjusted so that it offered a favoring atmosphere. A new setting was created in which Christopher's personality was not constantly subjected to thwarting and humiliation, and in which fear and anger were not continually dominating his conduct. A revised set of emotions activated his behavior, until finally the sister voluntarily conceded that her brother was a "good boy, and was saving his money to buy skates," while his mother commented that Christopher behaved the "best of all her children." His will had not been broken, but his purpose and choice of action had fallen into lines for social living.

### 35—Alice

**A**LICE was fifteen years old and only three and a half feet in height and forty pounds in weight. She had completed the elementary school, and the problem of further education had arisen.

Alice had gained but two inches and one pound during the previous year. This probably represented adolescent growth rather than an effect of the endocrine medication which she had been receiving for ten years. The child was a dwarf, with all the physical attributes of her diminutive stature, and with the emotional states growing out of it. Her handicap was one that could not be concealed; she was conspicuous in any group of girls or boys of her own age. Nevertheless she was not especially self-conscious, as she had made excellent adjustment to the situation. She took great pleasure and self-satisfaction in playing with the younger children of her size, but her school progress having been adequate she had been able to derive emotional satisfaction from her successful competition with the larger girls and boys of her own age. There was, thus, comparatively little blocking of personality, particularly as she had no

## 212 The Challenge of Childhood

marked talents or strong ambitions. There was an achieved balance of feelings arising from the normal outgrowth of intellectual power, good health, and recognition. Despite the limitation of her energy outlets she had managed to preserve a reasonable degree of spontaneity, cheerfulness, and physical comfort. The traits of early adolescence apparently had not modified the inherent sweetness, gentleness, and acquiescence of her disposition. Even the final acceptance of a life of dwarfism occasioned little perturbation or anguish. One might almost assume a dwarfing of emotional power. Her reactions were never turbulent, nor did she manifest any evidences of aggressive reaction to her physical maladjustment. She was smiling, genial, well-poised, ploddingly persistent, emotionally stable, and she had an excellent sense of humor.

The question arose as to the advisability of sending her to high school. So far, Alice's school life had not involved traveling far from home, and whenever a trip had been necessary one of her numerous normal-sized relatives had taken her in an automobile. But the high school was far away, and Alice was afraid to travel alone on any part of the transportation system. Also she dreaded being the only little one among two thousand girls. All her previous mental adjustments were now threatened by a mere change in school.

As the deviate of the family, Alice had been an object of solicitude and sorrow. Her mother, particularly, had guarded her in every manner. There had been ever recurring words of caution and fearfulness. Gradually, through direct and indirect suggestion, Alice's own fears for herself had been developed. The incessant impact of fear suggestions upon her conscious and subconscious mind had left their definite mark upon her. She was under the spell of familial fears which had become her own. Fear filled her with doubt and anxiety, and paralyzed her energy. She tended to remain at home and to do even less than her wont. She became restless, disinterested, unhappy. There was a cessation of intellectual effort, a re-birth of self-consciousness, a disinclination to face the necessity of vocational adjustment, a thwarting of all vocational guidance. She was taking flight from the active world.

It must be evident that the emotions which had developed from Alice's fears were working not alone, but in harmony or conflict with all other instinctive and acquired emotional activity. Her ordinary method of doing things must be distinguished from her abstract thinking, and from her response to compulsive situations. It is one thing to be sitting calmly in a physician's office and to say, "Of course I can do so and so, it's silly not to," but quite another to do the thing when the actual occasion arises. Then the compelling subconscious fear paralyzes the will. Despite her need for centrifugal experiences, Alice was impelled and compelled by obsessive centripetal thinking due to the suggested fears. Her reactions were not responsive to deliberative reasoning as they had not been created by thought or judgment. They had grown up in her subconscious life and must be cut down at their root.

The fact that the behavior shift occurred at the age of fifteen does not indicate its origin, but merely that the life situation at that time became modified so as to prevent its further concealment. Alice's life up to fifteen years represents the fore-period of this emotional development, while the present acuity of fearful emotions constitutes the active mid-period. The after-period cannot be prophesied because many new variables are developing, including functional maturity, altered familial attitudes, and suggestions emanating from numerous sources.

Concealed emotions are not lacking in potency because they are not consistently brought to the surface. Adults endeavor to hide weakness and show strength. This protective element is a necessity for social living. Children who do not fight at home have not necessarily lost their pugnacity. Among adults, to lie without a change of expression, to assume goodness of motive, to mask hatred, to smile through trouble, to simulate humility, affection, interest, or enthusiasm, is not only purposeful but is given a social evaluation that promotes the practice. When occasion arises, however, the anti-social feeling or its expression bursts forth with due urgency as a result of the hitherto concealed, draped, or beautifully veneered emotion.

Adults are wont to say to children, "Don't act that way," rather than, "Don't feel that way." Sometimes the child

## 214 The Challenge of Childhood

appears to enjoy acting in line with parental advice, although his feeling may be quite different. But children, among themselves, are more likely to be accurate. They say, "Don't be mad," rather than, "Don't fight"—"What's biting you?" rather than, "Why are you swearing?"—"Cheer up," instead of, "Stop crying." Because their emotions are near the surface, children feel the force of them more than adults, and because their controls have not yet become effective their neuro-muscular reactions are prompt. These controls involve other emotions as well as conscious thinking, all designed to place the self in a position of attraction, esteem, superiority, and favorable attention.

A clash between what the self interprets as valuable and what the herd approves, resulting in contrasting behavior, may yield values to the child despite social disapproval. On the other hand, a child may so thoroughly rationalize his conduct that he believes the world's judgment wrong, and continues in a highly individualistic course of conduct, actually out of harmony with the principles essential to group life. Again, conduct in accord with social guidance may so block personality as to eventuate in anti-social trends arising from obsessions, thoughts of oppression or persecution. Finally, the camouflaging of emotions for the protection of the juvenile period against discontent, emotional distress, and moral disquietude, may produce results inimical to the personality of later life. Failure to face the realities of self in relation to persons, places, and things is both an effect and a cause of personality variations and of diversifications of behavior.

Had Alice's fear state been appreciated earlier, re-education would have been easier. The difficulty of altering familial fearfulness is as great as that of overcoming the submission of the girl to her fears. Six months have passed, and her personality has not taken on its requisite expansion. In fact, there is a suggested evasion of contacts which might operate to check her flight. The outcome of her character development is still in doubt, but probably a greater maturation, combined with the deadliness of inactivity, will slowly break down the inhibiting emotions. Direct and indirect suggestion, a camping experience away from her family, and a definite program for facing the future without fear, will



add to her confidence, self-dependence, interest, and purpose. This program involves traveling alone, crossing streets, an accompanying adult. Learning through doing is the getting on and off street cars, visiting, and shopping without foundation of her conquest of fear.

### 36—Jane

JANE, a nineteen year old girl of excellent family, was disturbed by the fear of incipient insanity. As she walked along the street she was worried by the thought that she was being watched and that she attracted unusual attention and aroused comment. She complained that on entering a car or a room people began to talk about her. Her state of mind approached a psychosis, although it might be classified as an anxiety neurosis. Insomnia, fidgetiness, weeping, lack of concentration, and partial failure of memory were accompaniments of her distress, but all were subordinated to the fear that she was becoming insane.

Stripping off needless details, the causation of this marked pathological trend of Jane's emotional and intellectual life lay in her twelfth year. An alert mother, watching over an only daughter with more care than judgment, thought she had detected the twelve year old girl in the act of masturbating. There was no preliminary investigation, no discussion, no wise counselling. The keynote of her remarks was, "If you do that you will go crazy when you are nineteen years old." The seed of doubt, fear, and self-reproach fell upon fertile soil. When again, at the age of sixteen years, Jane was really detected in the act by her mother, the identical formula was repeated with an air of sincerity and finality. Then began the period of the subconscious cultivation of fear which lasted until Jane's nineteenth birthday. Two months thereafter a prophecy was on its way to fulfillment. The innocent event of the beginning adolescence had been transformed into a potential tragedy in a young woman's life.

At the beginning of maturation a suggestion had made its deep impression upon a sensitive mind. Jane knew only that it had been made by her mother whom she believed. Curiosity had led her to investigate the source of sensations



## 216 The Challenge of Childhood

which were strange to her. She had had no instruction concerning the periodic functions which were to become a part of her natural development. Her mother believed in letting nature express itself. She feared to speak truthfully with Jane, or to enlighten her as to the meaning of the numerous phenomena attendant upon maturation. She allied ignorance and innocence as identities, and unwittingly betrayed the confidence reposed in her by instilling a false idea as her first contribution to the sex consciousness of her daughter.

There had been no earlier sex education, and the natural sources were apparently of no avail. The barriers of modesty, shame, and a belief in personal sin made it impossible for the girl to inquire further into the truths of sexual development as they revealed themselves to her. The belief in her own defilement brought about an attitude of inferiority to other girls, and she tended to avoid numerous acquaintanceships. She gleaned a little information from some of her closest friends, but always from a background of mysticism, uncleanness, and conscious violation of the principles of purity, decency, and even chastity. The taboo on sexual matters only intensified the seriousness of the maternal prophecy. Jane thought herself "unholy and unclean" and unfit for friendships and love. The repetition of the prophecy at the sixteenth year only drove her secret further beneath the surface of conscious expression. And, despite the fact that masturbation was a thing of the past, her self-reproach increased with the years. Her hidden fears increased and caused an undercurrent of emotional turmoil. As the years passed, anxiety and doubts were mingled with disgust, wonder, penitence, and horror.

To cloak her feelings Jane sought a pleasurable outlet in the ordinary social life of young girls. The Puritanic mother, with the best of intentions, announced the rules and regulations that were to govern Jane's goings and comings, her male friends, her parties, her visits away from home, and every phase of her living. But Jane interpreted these things as necessary because of her proven weakness and unfittedness to exercise common sense. With a wider knowledge of sexual affairs, derived from newspapers,

moving pictures, and lurid fiction, she conceived herself to be morally weak, destined to fall into sinful ways, and beyond the power of salvation. Church-going became a practical search for salvation, a prayer for protection, and a release from her sins. But it failed to bring her the essential peace of mind which she had sought.

Then came the nineteenth birthday,—the day of days,—the time for the realization of the unhappy prophecy. The words of her mother returned to seize her thoughts, to harness her emotions, to blunt her volitional activity, and to conquer her. Whereas, previously, she had not noted people looking at her,—for she was uncommonly beautiful and dressed in most excellent taste,—now every glance proved that she must have a peculiar tell-tale appearance. The observation of moving lips, the indistinct murmurs of passing conversationalists caused self-consciousness about her prophesied state. Her confusion increased until it dominated her thinking life. There seemed no escape from the predicted condition of mental disorder. To be set at ease as to whether she was already insane she sought advice without parental knowledge or consent.

Then occurred the fundamental education, which should have been begun almost nineteen years before. Gradually there was revealed to her the nature of sex differentiation, the anatomy and physiology of feminine bodies, the complementary psychologies of males and females, and finally the truth about masturbation, and the unutterable falsity of the maternal prediction. The information helped to clarify thinking, and she began to review the past seven years from a new perspective. The burden of accepting a dismal fate was lifted, and the oppressive emotions began to vanish. The idea of sin, with its host of depressing emotions, disappeared; self-reproach and abasement gave way to more favoring feelings of naturalness and well-being. Doubts and fears trailed off in a cheering rout. Jane became the mistress of an altered personality whose worth she accepted at par, and behind her rallied all the elements that made for expansion and beautification of character. She had seen a light that had been dimmed for years. It was small, but sufficient to illumine her path from mental disorder to peace of mind.

## 218 The Challenge of Childhood

If any sin existed it was the mother's in keeping from the adolescent girl the knowledge that does not arise from instinctive life. The sex instincts are adequate for procreation, but their primitive nature has not made provision for self-knowledge and understanding during the period of maximum emotional growth. The evolution of secondary sex characteristics demands an explanation which should be forthcoming from the home rather than from untutored companions, crude experiences, erotic fiction, or the depths of ill-concealed pornography.

Most of the utterances concerning masturbation are based upon traditional fears, unsupported by scientific evidence. During infancy and childhood it occurs very frequently and it calls for attention but not for anxiety. The greatest hazard of the practice initiated at adolescence lies in the emotional reactions thereto and the consequent ideation. Beliefs in its sinfulness, danger to the mind, devastating effects upon the body, and the sensations attached to them are the most significant factors attacking personality and undermining its power, confidence, and self-esteem. An understanding of its causation and its relation to normal development are calculated to be more effective in overcoming the practice than is the creation of pernicious fears and undermining doubts and anxieties.

Masturbation is not to be met by expressed horror, implied threat, or punishment allocated to the present or the future. Nor should every peculiar action immediately be interpreted as masturbatory by overanxious, fearful, solicitous parents. During early years this form of autoerotic activity is not bound up in the emotional skeins, dreams, and ideas that occur during adolescent years and maturity. It is an activity usually learned by accident, and practised because of pleasurable sensations free from a sense of its nature, origin, or end-effect. To drive an overt act of this kind into concealment converts it into a clandestine practice, and parents, having no further knowledge of it, frequently regard it as overcome.

Parental frankness and honesty, the instilling of habits of personal cleanliness, a sympathetic understanding, patient teaching, an expressed confidence in the child's ability to control, a full measure of energetic occupation, and intel-

ligent investigation as to any underlying irritation are among the essential measures for helping the masturbator to cast off the shackles of the auto-erotic habit.

### 37—Henrietta

**H**ENRIETTA was a quiet, retiring, sixteen year old girl, who was contemplating a life of prostitution. She had completed the first year of high school but had lost interest in formal education and wanted to go to work. Her family, however, found her services valuable at home and did not approve of her seeking other occupation at the time.

Life at home was far from harmonious. Henrietta had been unable to hold her own in the family and had become the center of a storm. The mother and father were brawly. The father, a rigorous type of parent, was inclined to be disagreeable, particularly with Henrietta. She was the Cinderella of the family and was made the "goat" in all the unpleasant situations that arose. A sister four years older than Henrietta worked in a factory, and was always dressed in a style beyond her income. She had an abundance of attention and much pleasure of which she told alluringly. As a matter of fact, she was supplementing her income in a manner which, though Henrietta understood it perfectly, she described to me as "keeping company." The man in the case was freely accepted in the home, as the sister was having her affair with the connivance of her mother. The father's attitude was not clear. Undoubtedly he knew the situation, and very probably much of his rigor with Henrietta was prompted by his real desire to save her from a similar life.

With a vague appreciation of her bodily unrest, a natural recognition of her own physical charms, a sharp degree of discontent, and an acute yearning for affection, Henrietta was seeking an outlet for an emotional escape. The sister pattern was enticing, the prospect of pretty clothes and a gay time seducing, but some feeling of restraint continued to hold her back from the career she had considered as a solution. While her sexual development had been accompanied by normal emotional expansions, latent moral and,

## 220 The Challenge of Childhood

indeed, spiritual values had grown likewise, and these were struggling for existence. To be good, poor, and miserable, or by forsaking the conventions to share the money of others and find a vicarious happiness were her alternatives.

Her upbringing lacked a forceful influence for good because precepts were constantly violated by performance. Humiliation, abuse, self-consciousness, and weariness of life had already led to careful consideration of suicide as a relief from her distress. But why die when other methods of living might be adopted that would mitigate the palling circumstances? Other girls less careful of their code of morals dressed better than she, went to theaters and dances, and were gay, laughing, and apparently enjoying life in ways that were closed to her.

While Henrietta's processes of thought were busily engaged in sifting the arguments for and against bartering her body to satisfy her mind, the emotional elements were rallying and battling for supremacy. Curiosity and wonder, tender feeling, and surging affection bade her fight for ease, comfort, gaiety, exhilaration, sexual compromise,—anything to escape the dreariness, emptiness, and monotony of virtuous oppression. Hatred of home had tintured her feelings against the world, and she felt no obligation to accept a code that was honored in the breach so long as concealment was possible. This view was corroborated by her reactions to those newspaper columns that deal with bright lights and gay lives: her life was her own; marriage was a farce. As a basis of self-adjustment a dual standard of morality was an outrage.

Henrietta felt no impelling sex urge for the consummation of physical relations, nor was her maternal feeling responsible for her impulse toward sexual indulgence. Prostitution was to be not an end but a means. Professionalism did not enter her thinking, but merely clandestine relations for the promotion of her own material contentment. On the other hand, the fear of consequences, a lack of aggressiveness, her positive self-feeling,—in the form of self-respect, pride, and desire for a good name,—and a belief in the cowardice of debauchery as a means to an end, all urged Henrietta to fight on a plane that would

lead to a greater happiness, even though postponed for some years.

Her subconscious life was a raging conflict. Her ego instincts called for adventure, security, recognition, and response, and the social instincts arrayed the protective emotions against them; while the sexual instinct, with its countless sensations and urges, fought first on one side and then the other, but always seeking to conquer. The resultant behavior was characterized by quietness, reticence, hesitation, and doubt, further complicated by a lack of initiative, concentration, application, and persistence; a failing memory, and an incapacity for deliberating in a way to inspire her own confidence. Life was as confused as her emotions. The world had aged her emotionally, just as it had given her experiences that belonged to older women. She could not sleep, but tears had little part in her hours of mental struggle.

Henrietta's desires for pleasure were normal. At her age, it was not unnatural for her to assign a false value to the transitory elements of enjoyment. She had the physical development and the unstable emotions of an adolescent, and the impressions of an adult. In view of these mitigating circumstances and of the example of her sister, her powers of self-control suggested a fine substratum upon which to build a firmer character through sublimating her trends in useful service and rational occupation.

She was encouraged to undertake work that gave her an opportunity for emotional outlet with other children, and provision was made for normal, healthful contacts with understanding adults. From the moment that she was treated as a real person she promptly responded. She left school and took a position that occupied her during the time that otherwise would have been spent upon her emotional difficulty.

In reasoning with Henrietta, nothing was said dogmatically; preaching was avoided. World codes were explained and morals discussed in terms of ego values rather than in the form of social demands. The nature and future of her sex organization, development, and utility were expounded, not as a doctrine, but as a factual evolution fraught with various possibilities. She was not driven to decision, nor



## 222 The Challenge of Childhood

led logically to an absolute choice. There were no criticisms, threats, promises, or religious quotations; her entire situation was considered as a natural outcome of her previous experiences in relation to her home situation. Responsibility, obligation, duty, necessity, law, and social principles were not mentioned. The stabilization of her mental unrest was her problem, but the question treated was impersonal, and her own reflections and judgments were registered upon a hypothetical girl whose character and life were identical with her own. Henrietta's moral sense was basically sound; and during the emotional storm she had used it consciously as an anchor. The projection of her own judgments upon another like herself served as a gyroscope which enabled her to regain and keep an even keel. As a result, her final decision was for a future happiness with self-respect and social esteem and not immediate satisfactions with the sacrifice of her better self.

The earliest opportunities for the acquisition of a proper knowledge concerning the sex urge and for developing normal resistance to sexual desires obviously are to be found at home. The constructive influences involve direct and positive education by the parents. But it has been the experience of the ages that parents are woefully inactive along the lines of sex education. Parental timidity, fears, ignorance of methods, and the traditionally unholy and unclean view of the subject have produced a negative phase of sex education permitting the domination upon character of ideas and experience secured outside of the home, from sources permeated with vulgarity, falsehood, and suggestiveness. The home must supply freely direct explanations of sex phenomena through rational constructive efforts, and offer some explanation of the stirring emotional life. There can be no perversion of the truth if the sex instinct is to be developed properly and adequately guided. From infancy through adolescence the home influence must be constantly and consciously directed toward guiding the evolution of the sex character and characteristics of children. The parents are primarily responsible for elucidating those truths about the physiology, psychology, and hygiene of sex, which later are to create a willing

sexual morality and an appreciation of the methods for sublimating the instinct.

A parental realization of the part that sex plays in life and living is of fundamental importance. Evasive answers, half truths, and lies are far more dangerous than frank statements couched in language suited to the mind of the child. To safeguard the growth of the child's mind there must be a greater recognition of parental responsibility for dealing honestly and truthfully with it in the development of sanely established attitudes regarding the problems of sex. Parental guidance should obviate sex misinformation, which is primarily responsible for much of the sexual expression that leads to physical disease, mental distress, and moral delinquency. The growth of the child's character, and the development of his will to sublimate sexual instincts, demand a home setting conscious of the problem, capable and willing to act in accordance with the needs that arise from the natural expression of the sex urge. It would take us too far afield to discuss the technic of sex education or to detail the manner and the method of giving sex instruction. Suffice it to say that the process must be continuous from birth, and the instruction must be based upon the principle that it is the parents who must prepare their children to meet the situations of life. Sexual instruction should afford the basic knowledge that permits an understanding of the emotional reactions involved, and that fosters the fundamental traits of character that strengthen sound volitions in the face of hazardous temptations. It should supply the groundwork of judgments that will lead to sublimations of the creative instinct into unimperilled channels.

The part of the home has been insufficiently stressed. Herein is found the constructive factor most essential in enabling youth to know itself, to learn the part that the sex instinct plays in life, and to realize the importance of this instinct for individual success and social welfare, when diverted to useful purposes through sublimation. A rational ethical intelligence, that will sustain and guide the will in the interest of self-expression and self-preservation, is requisite for the physical and moral welfare of the individual and the race.

A parental attack upon the problems of sex education

## 224 The Challenge of Childhood

lessens the dangerous influences that arise from unsuitable companionships during childhood and adolescence. Ignorance and innocence are not equivalent. The failure to recognize the difference between them is responsible for the growth of juvenile valuations that are perverted and pernicious. The failure of parental guidance toward a chivalric attitude leaves the child exposed to the uncertain influence of his juvenile associates. His independence and emotional reactions are either fortified or weakened in accordance with the prevailing spirit of his gang. The effects of companionships upon the growth of personal character are readily understood. It is therefore of the utmost importance that parents possess a wider knowledge of the character of the child's companions, even though they may be the children of relatives or chosen friends. It is essential that parents seek to secure and to hold the child's confidence in order to eliminate, in so far as may be possible, the unhealthful and destructive influences that come into his life.

Personal cleanliness must be stressed, as well as the healthfulness of exercises, out-door sports, recreation, and work. These absorb personal interest and are potent in redirecting the sex impulses, so frequently fostered under the spell of companionship. The so-called gang spirit, as well as the family and school spirits, possess valuable factors but only when properly appreciated and constructively supervised. The pernicious influence of smutty stories, licentious literature, immodest attire, vulgar dancing, and recreations emphasizing sexual impulses must be counteracted by education to their dangers, and must be offset by giving greater prominence to such factors as will direct child life into safe channels. The struggles in sexual crises are particularly vigorous during the pubertal period, when the traditions of the gang are strongest in their power to force a youth from home influences, and to submit his ideas and ideals to the domination of the false beliefs of the gang. This is possible only through indifference, ignorance, or neglect of the effects of companionship upon the emotionalism and sex feeling of the child. The negative phases of companionship call for the positive stimulation of adequate recreational and occupational adjustments for the group as

sublimating agencies for the growth and guidance of innate character which has been previously emphasized as the fundamental responsibility of home influence.

Within too many homes there is an atmosphere which hampers the development of childhood along rational sex lines. This is best revealed in the tacit, or actually acknowledged, acceptance of a dual standard of morality. The father maintains the impress of this tradition and reflects it in his point of view. He may give solicitous thought to the development of his daughter's chastity, while his general neglect of this phase of his son's development, whether intentional or due to indifference, leads to a partial paralysis of his parental duty. It even permits him to accept without fear or distress the growth of his daughter's emotions, sentiments, and judgments, in ways that lead her far from his ideas of proper sex behavior. For this reason, the home atmosphere is surcharged with a sense of dual interest and ideas in support of theories of sex education at complete variance with one another. As a result, no particular effort is made to anticipate the possible contacts that lead boys to acquire an erroneous attitude in sex matters. The parental confusion or lack of stability in sex philosophy increases the difficulty of securing direct and honest guidance in harmony with individual and social ethics. The male belief in the necessity for sowing wild oats goes against the concept that chastity and sex repression are essential,—essential not merely because of the risk of disease, but by reason of the necessity for safeguarding monogamy. These two opposing attitudes, existing in a single home, preclude a consistent sex education in harmony with scientifically established facts or with the ideals of ethics and religion.

Parental duty must establish itself with greater certainty and in greater harmony with those facts which it is the child's right to know, irrespective of whether the child be boy or girl. The basic control of sexual instincts must be secured through a form of home education that possesses a single point of view, and which does not act and react in a different manner to identical sexual phenomena when exhibited by son or daughter. The evolution of the sexual instinct under adequate personal control must not be

## 226 The Challenge of Childhood

halted or diverted into unhealthful channels. The artificial atmosphere created by unsound traditions must not be permitted to condition children along sex lines in ways that may increase the likelihood of sex experiences, or tend to undermine their normal resistance to the temptations which are likely to assail them.

This situation is very serious, constructively, for it is essential to transform the points of view of parents, already tradition bound, to convince them of the errors of their educational practices, and to aid them in readjusting their procedures and methods. The fact that this is a difficult task merely emphasizes its importance and the necessity for counteracting the banal influences in every possible way. While no reasonable efforts should be spared in the education of parents, there is greater need for attacking the sexual problem in the growing generation, particularly in adolescents for whom a chivalrous morality most easily may be founded, and in whom a rising sense of civic consciousness may serve to sublimate the creative impulse. The future parenthood of the country must be safeguarded against the pernicious doctrine that has been largely responsible for the lack of self-control; a willingness to reject the traditional and inherently vicious theories must be developed. By both of these means, the ancient sex taboo within the home will be weakened, and the individual reaction to the sexual urge will receive more adequate treatment and guidance. This will result in wiser appreciation of the part that parenthood, home, surroundings, and companionships play in properly conditioning individuals in their attitudes toward the problems of sex.

There has been an inadequate realization of the tremendous energy back of the sex instinct on the one hand, and, on the other hand, of the conservative biological provisions for the release of this energy along channels not specifically sexual. It is probably absolutely correct to speak of the sex instinct as the creative instinct, and it is equally true that any outlet which offers the emotional satisfaction that comes from creative endeavor has the capability of neutralizing the needs back of the sexual craving. The import of this viewpoint must be fully realized by parents and by their children, for the children reflect them not merely

through inheritance, but also by the assimilating of their ideas and ideals. Both must understand and learn to utilize the essentials for developing and satisfying the emotional cravings arising from the sex instinct. It is in this relation that the release of energy along recreational and occupational lines yields the most satisfactory results.

The creative spirit is not an antidote to the sex instinct, but a part of its forceful expression. It acts in a conservative manner and utilizes the instinct for forms of satisfaction that are not merely protective in character, but lead on to its greater development, its broadening and deepening in its impress upon innate character and powers of self-direction and control. The non-sexual release of energy suffices to offset the fundamental needs that lie back of the sexual craving and, in fact, to transmute them into self-satisfying and useful forms of expression.



Division IV: Social Problems



## Social Problems—Introduction

**I**N approaching the various problems of childhood discussed in these pages an effort has been made to give due consideration to both inherited and acquired factors.

The physical organization, in so far as it involves inheritance and the effects of metabolic activity, intoxications, infections, accidents, and acquired handicaps, has a definite influence upon child behavior, and at times it becomes a dominant element in character development.

Brain power, with the part played by inherited potentials, and special abilities and disabilities, injects forces into conduct which call for especial attention. It conditions life in numerous reactions to opportunity, exposure to education, to vocational trends and adjustments. It helps to determine the quality and relativity of behavior in terms of thought, judgment, deliberation, and choice. Consequently, the mentality is a vital factor in approaching the subject of voluntary activity.

The emotional constitution of individuals varies considerably because of inherited traits and differences of experience. The states of tension engendered by manifold activities and reactions to situations have a cumulative value in the subconsciousness, and there they exercise a pronounced influence upon physical and mental activity as manifest in overt action.

It is patent that temperament, character, and conduct are end-results of a host of interacting forces that are inherent in being; but it is the external forces, impinging upon consciousness, that modify and determine their development and exhibition. The consciousness of strength is lacking until a chair is to be lifted, a rock moved, or a load carried. The outside world moulds human behavior through the conscious sensory and motor systems. The perceptual channels and muscular sense bridge the gap between self and all elements of the environment, animate or inanimate.

## 232 The Challenge of Childhood

Wherefore, to investigate the behavior of children without a purposeful study of their world is to omit the most potent element in the development of their personalities.

No man lives in isolation. His life, though individual and personal to him, is at all times a part of the totality of life by which he is encompassed. While narrowing the discussion to his inherent, self-directed, and self-energized behavior might simplify it, to do so would be to deny the reality of his existence as a social being. And it is, therefore, as a social being that he must be considered, even if this involves the fall of the doctrine of complete responsibility for actions.

If one believes in innate goodness and badness there is little basis for character formation or personality reformation. A contact bomb possesses all the elements for an explosion, but unless it has an impact the destructive force is not liberated. A person may be susceptible to malaria, but if no infected anopheles mosquito bites him, the chills and fever do not occur. A boy may walk along the open way and never know that he can climb unless a hill or a wall opposes him. A girl may not realize her beauty until one day the mirror reveals it, and she may never again be the same.

In cross section the children's world is made up of concentric circles of influence—family, neighborhood, city, state, nation, world, and universe. The economic status of the family, the social caste of the neighborhood, the civic consciousness of the city, the administrative modernity of the state, the social policy of the nation, the peacefulness of the world, the astronomic principles of the universe, singly and in combination, affect child life, welfare, and behavior. The outer self—the projection of consciousness—is as essentially vital as the inner self in creating, modifying, correcting, damaging, and reconstructing life values in behavior. All these external factors represent uncertain, changeable, or fixed conditions over which the child has no control, but by which he is stimulated and motivated, limited and thwarted.

Hunger because of family poverty, contact with vulgarity in a wretched neighborhood, a lack of play space in a congested mechanized city, inadequate schooling be-

## Social Problems—Introduction 233

cause of weak child labor law, the condoning of violations of federal laws—as of prohibition—the exaltation of military life and of international hatreds, the terrifying thunder and the lightning flash are beyond the reach of children's power, energy, or control; but they are effective forces in character development. The child's newness in the world leads to reactions of every shade, and most of them, owing to our ignorance of the inherent constitution of any child, are unpredictable. Similarly, prophecy cannot determine the exact time and conditions of the conjunction of the child and any external influence, save under very rare and unusual circumstances.

Patently, a large part of the child's world consists of natural phenomena, including man the animal. The half million years that man has existed as man have resulted in a modification of nature but not of natural law. It has transformed his world without a commensurate growth of his innate potentials. Man has sought to dominate his environment, and gradually he has built codes to protect himself against surrounding forces. Recognizing himself as a source of evil or good, to be castigated, avoided, and destroyed, or cultivated and protected, he developed unifying, coöperative, and protective group organization. Thence came religion, communal life, industry, and military regulations; out of these grew the traditions, customs, beliefs, social agencies, and institutions that constitute the *mores* which have made and marred the path of what is called civilization. During the course of this evolution, the social customs and regulations became superior to individual determination and began to exercise tyrannical domination. The reactions of personalities involved frank rebellion, grudging acceptance, and obedient acknowledgment of the universality, necessity, sanctity, and inviolability of the *mores*.

In considering the social problems of children, it becomes impossible to scrutinize all the social influences at work. Nor is it feasible to dissociate purely social factors from those arising within the juvenile organism. The progress from generation to generation proceeds in harmony with some unknown principle, despite the contempt of the older

## 234 The Challenge of Childhood

group for the young, and the intolerance of youth for their elders.

The "flapper" is a social problem, but by no means an evidence of the alleged deterioration of moral fibre. She "flapped" because she was taught to flap and praised for it under war conditions. She was encouraged to support the war by sacrificing those traits of modesty, gentleness, and courtesy formerly held to be essential to girlhood. She was sent on missions, somewhat coerced into talking, playing, and dancing with men she did not know or had not met in a formal manner. If occasion demanded, a kiss was the bonus for a liberty bond. She paraded herself, was hailed, admired, and praised for nobility of character, patriotism, initiative, and independence; and she believed that the world meant what it said to and of her, even as she had faith in a war for democracy or to end all war. War industry put her on a plane of economic parity with her brothers and she became a working partner with the soldiers, sailors, and marines. She had forced upon her a social and economic status that lacked most previous safeguards, regulations, and moral sanctions. She was helping to win the war, regardless of what she lost for herself. And then the war stopped—but it was not over, for the embers still flash into occasional flame.

The girl of the war had become inoculated with a virus compounded by society, and her reactions were as truly a natural result as were those of the troops who returned silent over their exploits and the horrors of war. In the days of Jeremiah there were flappers, and they have been a recurrent and comparatively harmless phenomenon ever since. The fibre of youth is tough, elastic, active, vigorous; it is sensitive in response to social currents. The short dress is not any more an emblem of lowered morals than tight collars are of chastity. Balloon sleeves do not necessarily presuppose thin arms, nor must all high heels indicate small feet. Clothing is an adventitious social factor, which has been utilized for social purposes.

If one regards social problems as evidences of the shortcomings of civilization, it is not in a derogatory spirit. The future is unknown, and progress comes through mistakes and failures. Man's evolution is not at an end phys-



## Social Problems—Introduction 235

ically, mentally, or spiritually. Social effort is now directed into the field of prevision and prevention rather than toward a contented, palliative patchwork. The social mind is cognizant of forces, measures, methods, and goals that were unthinkable a generation ago. Urbanization, industrialization, and mechanization have introduced ideas, emotions, sentiments, attitudes, and ideals that condition child welfare as truly as the decline of maternal nursing and the increase of scientific knowledge concerning diseases. Instinctive and emotional reactions of a primitive type are forced to struggle for effective safety in a social welter to which they are unadjusted, and for which they are not primarily adapted. The old intelligence is grappling with knowledge of a new social sphere and is finding it very difficult.

The world that adults have decreed and regulated for children is bound round with tangles of outworn theories and laws. Child life must find itself while adults stand by "viewing with alarm," or saying with satisfaction, "All's right with the world." Under the alteration of educational and child labor laws, the child's world changed when he became a liability rather than an asset. His world has changed once more with the decline of the birth rate and the increasing demand for workers and fighters. Hence the social questions of childhood are receiving renewed thought and are assuming a hitherto unknown importance. To blame poverty and ignorance for much that is unfortunate in childhood is not to go deep enough. We must probe to the underlying social causes of poverty and ignorance so that society may attack them directly. But we must realize that there are other factors than ignorance and poverty that contribute to the social problem of the child, for we find the child problem also among the rich and the educated—though its existence there may be partly due to the presence in the world of the impoverished and the illiterate.

Too frequently social work is regarded as necessary only for the poor. Wealth does not easily solve the social problems of its own children, though it may provide some escapes and promote the keeping up of appearances. The defective child of the poor may be a public charge, while

## 236 The Challenge of Childhood

the rich defective may be placed in a high priced boarding home. The poor boy who is incorrigible is sent to a truant school, while the rich man's son who is too difficult to be kept at home is sent to a boarding school, a military academy, or with a tutor for a trip around the world. The poor boy who lies, swears, and steals is a ne'er-do-well, but after contact with a juvenile court or some other agency he may become a useful citizen through the influence of a Big Brother or a probation officer. The rich boy of similar character, to avoid smirching the family name, is not hailed into court, and so he is denied the privilege which might save his character. The poor are sought out and interrogated and adjusted, but many whose problems are similar, though less acute and pressing, are actually handicapped through the possession of more wealth.

There are other social influences that weigh heavily upon all social groups—such as death, preventable diseases, divorce, desertion, bad housing conditions, foster homes, lack of educational facilities, insufficient opportunity for recreation, repressive regulations on Sundays, sumptuary laws, landlord-tenant laws, coal shortage, strife between capital and labor. The degree to which these and innumerable other social factors determine the status of the home, and the fateful reactions of the children in the home, is beyond conjecture.

Obviously, within the limits of a volume of this nature it is impossible to touch upon more than an infinitesimal number of illustrative social problems. No problems are included that involve sickness or physical handicaps,—such as blindness, deafness, and maiming,—because they so patently involve the action of forces that are only started by social factors and are not subject to their continuous effect. A child who is blind because his eyes were not cleaned at birth, or a boy who has lost an arm as a result of the intoxication of an automobile driver, or a girl, tuberculous or syphilitic because of lax regulations, has behavior trends bent by the causative element arising from social ignorance, indifference, or neglect. On the other hand, the child whose home is wrecked by reason of death, divorce, or desertion is subject to the continuous action of social regulations. The youngster who is exploited in

## Social Problems—Introduction 237

industry, making Christmas bells at home, picking cotton, or berrying, is under the continued fire of social injustice. The alcoholized home constantly assails personality, regardless of the stratum of society or of the innate organization of the child.

It may appear as though some of the children discussed do not constitute real social problems, but I would emphasize that the existent conditioning circumstances are wholly beyond their control and originate in social weakness. The child is not *the* problem, for the solution of his difficulties is attainable only through a modification of the social milieu. Recognizing that the environment has received attention in connection with the physical, mental, and emotional problems, it will be noted that the next group of children are not merely maladjusted to their environment. The major task of adjustment, however, involves altering their external world as distorted and perverted by social sanction, social tolerance, and social indifference. Thus the maladjustments in the happiness and behavior of these children have grown out of customs, laws, regulations and ordinances, rather than wholly out of inherent frailties, ignorance, and misunderstanding.

### 38—Beatrice

**B**EATRICE was twelve years old, and was difficult of direction at home.

She was doing average work in the sixth grade, and her school conduct was exemplary. Her ten year old sister was in the fifth grade. There was constant friction with this sister, and a moderate resentment against her progress and apparently superior intelligence. Beatrice's father refused her no request, approved actions counter to the expressed desires of the mother, and in every way possible opposed and contradicted the maternal guidance and direction of this daughter. This was, however, merely a phase of his activity, which as a whole charged the home atmosphere with flashes perilous to familial welfare. Strife between the parents occurred constantly in the presence of the children. Beatrice had recognized her mother's weakness in accepting brutal, cruel, and humiliating treatment and had taken advantage of it, using the methods of her father. Thus she had become insolent, domineering, unruly, and pugnacious.

There was no expressed love for the father, save in so far as a slight demonstrativeness was utilized to gain her ends from him after their denial by her mother. Her criticisms of her father were direct, sharp, and sane, and she did not hesitate to condemn him. At the same time her respect for her mother was nihil, and the claim of the mother upon her sympathy, assistance, and support had not entered her thoughts. Lack of harmony in the home was the paramount causal factor of Beatrice's misbehavior. But her mother, naturally enough, regarded the problem as serious from the point of view of Beatrice's unfilial attitude toward her.

The situation between the sisters was easily adjusted by securing their mutual coöperation not only in their own interests but in the interest of their mother. When they

were both brought to appreciate the fact that each was working honestly and conscientiously, friction on the school subject subsided quickly, and each became willing to help the other.

Beatrice also came to recognize her definite responsibility to aid her mother and to extend moral support and sympathy to her. But in the face of the continued exhibition of her father's unkindness to her mother and of his lack of discipline with her, it was difficult to make Beatrice translate this recognition into an active principle of daily living. Thus, by elimination, the father remained the outstanding cause of Beatrice's difficult behavior, but not because of a real exchange of affection of the Oedipus type, for he had no deep love for either daughter, and his sole motive in favoring Beatrice was to irritate, annoy, confuse, and anger her unhappy mother.

Obviously the essentials of the treatment were beyond the control of the girl, despite numerous adjustments on her part. To expect a twelve year old child to disregard any advantage that might accrue from parental disputation is more than unreasonable. Beatrice had not been won to her father's support or defense; she was playing him against her mother in order to intensify her own emotional satisfactions, and to gratify her desires and whims. No adult idea of the home condition had been thought out, but her child mind could easily grasp the inherent advantages that condition gave her.

The solution lay along definitely social lines. The intolerable home situation demanded a remedy. A society for the prevention of cruelty to children could find little basis for entering the home, as there was ample physical ease, no gross immorality, and no direct cruelty to children. The issue could not be approached from the school, for Beatrice's record of attendance, accomplishment, and conduct was eminently satisfactory. She had not been guilty of immorality, so there was little basis for projecting her into the toils of investigation. Nor was it advisable to take her into a juvenile court. A probation officer or a Big Sister would have been able to exert a helpful moral influence, and might have served to lessen some of the exploitation of the home situation for personal benefits. But the

## 240 The Challenge of Childhood

crux of the problem required more thorough-going management. The mother required that her morale be restored and her courage stimulated to the point of utilizing the Court of Domestic Relations. Her lowered position in the eyes of her children and her lost self-esteem were grievous elements in her daily thinking, and they became the levers to move her to activity against her husband. Though she feared desertion or some other unpleasant form of retaliation, she finally admitted the futility of continuing to live under a form of terrorism. The bonds between Beatrice and herself were strengthened by sympathetic discussions and by an agreement to coöperate. Thus she became the recipient of more affection, and through this arose her realization of the necessity for reëstablishing her children's confidence in, and respect for, her. More important still was her recognition that Beatrice's behavior merely mirrored that of the father and husband. This knowledge aided her to summon the moral strength needed for the counter attack upon her husband. Her fears had developed to the fighting stage. A righteous anger was directed toward her marital salvation, and she acceded to the plan of bringing legal pressure to bear upon her problem.

As a result of adjusting the situation to a livable plane, Beatrice's conduct shifted from disobedience, contemptuous insolence, and lack of affection to coöperation, solicitude, and normal filial feeling.

### 39—Connie

CONNIE was an eight and a half year old girl of small size, who weighed forty-three and a quarter pounds (average for six years). She was addicted to very late hours, possessed an ungovernable temper with facility for explosion, used foul language, and had been before the juvenile court for alleged immorality. Further, she stated that she wanted to be bad and smiled in rejoicing sophistication. She visited the movies nightly and returned home at one or two o'clock in the morning. Her companions included boys who were older than she. Physically, save for her undersize, she presented no special defect, save a slight anemia. Her teeth, incidentally, were remark-



ably clean and free from caries, probably as a result of her unclean habit of picking up and sucking all pieces of lemon she might find on the street. Her general behavior presented, therefore, little physical basis. Her I. Q. was 83, and her school record in the third grade was fair in effort and achievement. Her dull mentality had not hampered her school progress, although her conduct was far from exemplary. But as she had been able to get along without endangering school progress, she was scarcely limited by her intellectual shortcomings.

In conversation Connie was pert and quick, and she exhibited self-confidence, shrewdness, and determination. Her emotional life was unstable, with irritability, shamelessness, and impulsive anger, and she harbored a deep hatred of her mother, father, brothers, and sisters.

Connie's father was an illiterate, constitutional psychopath, with suicidal trends. He had been in an institution because of mental aberration. All his life he had had a tramp's restlessness, and, as he had never provided for his family, a charitable organization had been more or less constant in its necessary attentions.

The mother was highly excitable, maintained a wretched home, and had little control over the four children. She was immoral, and the "home" contained her lodger paramour. Ignorance, poverty, squalor, shiftlessness, and immorality constituted the social heritage which Connie, at the age of four years, had unconsciously sought to escape by running away from home. Apprehended, she had sought her satisfactions by remaining away from the house until all hours of the night, and by being so unruly when in it as to make the life there still more intolerable for everyone. As the result of increased abuse and lack of kindness and affection, her attitude had become tinged with greater bitterness. Her hatreds developed still further, and she began to get a larger education on the streets. She recognized the adult standards of life, and became an imitator of them,—she too would live freely.

And yet this child, anxious to be a hardened woman, responded to proffered friendliness, and gave up midnight prowlings to become a mother to a doll almost as large as herself. Gradually Connie forsook the movies to give a

## 242    The Challenge of Childhood

larger degree of devotion to her child (the first doll she had ever owned) in order to win a carriage for its comfort and her gratification. Her school work improved, so that her record was excellent both in effort and conduct. This advance strengthened her position with the intelligent, co-operative teacher of the anemic class, to which she had been transferred in order that she might have extra nourishment during school hours. Her behavior at home improved somewhat, but the spells of temper continued to break out under the existent conditions, which were as hazardous to her as they were distressing to the charitable society. The worthless father, the faithless, irritable mother, and the home-vitiating lodger were too strong a combination to combat with ordinary constructive methods.

It was finally determined to break up the home, send the children to an institution, if possible commit the father, and thus leave the able-bodied mother to care for herself. Previous efforts to oust the lodger had been fruitless, and financial aid was merely continuing the opportunity for immorality under the eyes of the children.

The social adjustment of the family was, however, not wholly fair to Connie, who was already responding to an appeal to qualities of character of which she had had no earlier consciousness. Her tender feelings were being invoked with such apparent success that it appeared unwise to place her in an institution. There was danger that, through resentment, she might slip back, and that she might be a marked moral hazard for other girl inmates who had not had the vicious experiences she had had, who had not witnessed, tested, and known what she had. In consequence, the three younger children were placed in an asylum, and Connie was sent to a private home on a farm. She was to have a new chance in a healthful environment, with solicitous foster-motherhood, educational opportunities in a rural school, and an exposure to the quiet, peaceful forces of farm life.

The social attack upon her behavior was essential to combat the influence of a dangerous heredity, a blighting economic status, and a depressed social atmosphere. She had manifested the best type of intelligence in the family by her rebellion, even though it had resulted in behavior

that must be regarded as antisocial. Her I. Q. was the highest among the brothers and sisters, and with it she combined strong powers of initiative and self-determination with a vivid imagination, which had led to the imitation of her elders.

Connie is young, and her social life has just begun. In the face of her inheritance it is impossible to predict what the future holds for her. It is safe to state, however, that society will hear from her in unpleasant tones unless it deals fairly with her and provides ample opportunity to harness her energies in useful service. She is of the type that will not be driven, but she may be led easily by ignoring the mask of adult manners and habits, and by seizing the little girl in her. To have sent her away as incorrigible would have been gross injustice and a further penalization for her reactions to circumstances wholly beyond her control. Indeed, it was found impossible to correct the home situation by the application of ordinary social pressure by trained social workers.

This child's conduct was as directly due to her psychopathic father as to the poverty and the maternal immorality. Her existence was the responsibility of a society that exerts inadequate control over dysgenic marriages. Continued laxity in public policy concerning mental defectives, psychotics, and psychopaths accounts for a considerable degree of unpleasant behavior for which children are held responsible, and through which they are subjected to discipline and correctional institutions. Home conditions conducive to misconduct are not always due to ignorance and poverty; frequently there is a more significant cause that may underlie both of them: mental ineffectiveness, mental defectivity, or mental disease. It is not unusual for the outburst of misbehavior to serve as an indication of the need for antidoting the poison of a home, founded upon mental instability.

#### 40—Elaine

**E**LAINE was a thin, pallid little girl of six years, who was living in a foster home. Complaint was made that she was unruly and that she masturbated. The child

## 244 The Challenge of Childhood

was alleged to have had a gonorrheal vaginitis, which might be the cause of the masturbation. There was no marked physical inadequacy save undernourishment, no suggestion of mental inferiority or of definite emotional instability.

Elaine was the offspring of a common law marriage. Conditions of drunkenness and cruelty had become such that it had appeared desirable to take her from the debauched home and offer her the privilege of a new home under intelligent foster-parents.

The foster mother was middle-aged and, having had no children, had already adopted a thirteen year old boy and raised him. She had had little difficulty with the adopted son, who had been of an age to recognize his situation fully, and who had warmed up to his legal guardian and reciprocated her affection. The woman's maternal instincts, however, were not satisfied, so she took in children who, in the opinion of a careful child placement organization, were in need of the fostering and nurturing she could give them. Her experience had been limited, and she had little understanding of small children. Her advancing years, with possibly increased irritability at the climacteric, combined to make her more sensitive to the noise, activity, and strenuousness of gay, lighthearted, and heavy-footed childhood. To her, maternal care meant food, clothing, shelter, and oversight.

The foster mother had not actually observed in Elaine the habit whose existence she deplored. But she knew about the tendency of some children to self-abuse, and she had heard so much concerning its dangers and damages that she had a definitely organized fear of it. Therefore any movement of Elaine that could be identified as irritating the genital areas became at once identified with its performance. Into the life of the child was read an activity which at that period was actually non-existent. More important was the attitude of mind engendered in the foster mother by the imagined vicious depravity of the little girl. She began to see other faults, to pull harder on the guiding reins. She even applied the lash of hypercriticism, and the child developed an unrest and a revolt which resulted in disobedience. The elements of the foster home were not adjusted to improve Elaine's character even though they

offered an improvement over the physical character of her mother's home. Finally the foster mother wished to give up her charge entirely because of Elaine's continued flagrant disobedience and lack of responsiveness to solicitous interest.

A rigid discipline even though in a rural setting is none the less oppressive. The foster mother did not grasp the fact that patience is the finest expression of affection and a remarkable substitute for the more spiritual feeling inherent in motherhood. She saw a child with bad habits,—an impossible creature,—and she tried to berate, restrain, condemn, deny, scold, and punish her. Thus she was performing the service for which she was employed, "to redeem and salvage a depraved sinner,"—who did not appreciate a good home when it was offered to her.

Elaine did not deny disobedience, but she did disclaim the habit of masturbation after admitting its earlier practice. The fact of the foster mother's obsessive fear and disgust had not been elicited by the child-placing agent. Nor had she inquired concerning positive proof of sexual excitation; the very fact of the child's origin argued for the probable presence of this unpleasant habit in the mind of the foster mother.

The social attack involved an adjustment in the child placement without changing the home. The conduct disorder clearly resulted from an original error in home-finding and from failure on the part of supervisors to take the entire situation into consideration. It is suggested from this instance that in the problems of children much may be gained by regarding the child as innocent until proved guilty. The juvenile court and the probation officer wisely interrogate children, and the same practice is followed when investigating the state of contentment of children placed out. There is a tendency, however, to accept at face value the statements of adults and to regard the denials of children as likely to be untrue as a matter of self-defense.

In fairness be it said that the foster mother was well-intentioned, but she was poorly conditioned by training, knowledge, experience, age, and physiological status to deal justly with her ward without careful guidance. When the entire situation was explained her attitude changed, and



## 246 The Challenge of Childhood

she glimpsed a new light of herself, the child, and their reciprocal positions and relations. Appearing as the complainant, she found herself a co-defendant and the child as a co-plaintiff. The result was a willingness to continue the custody of the child and to work out their mutual salvations. Foster mother and child responded, and the undesirable phases of conduct disappeared gradually.

Here again, in Elaine, was a creature of social circumstances, removed from home because of improper guardianship, carefully placed in an environment that promised much, but which failed in its initial performance. After becoming a member of the family Elaine did not manifest the traits her foster mother looked for in response to the new environment. When affection was denied her, Elaine's passivity gave way to insubordination. That, inherently, Elaine was not truly vicious is evident from her response to a more humanized administration of her life and a kindlier attitude toward her.

When one realizes how few parents are equipped for rational child training, the delicate problems that face child placement agencies are evident. Their responsibility includes the selection of foster parents temperamentally adapted to meet the needs of the individual child. The experience of children in foster homes, whether private or public, familial or institutional, indicates the profound importance of individualized adjustments. Children's difficulties in their own homes point out the greater necessity for wise selection when the wards of the state are entrusted to those free from family ties. The average child and the average home present no difficulty. It is the unusual child in the average home, or the average child in the unusual home that creates the average problem. The brilliant, the emotional, and the sophisticated child, the mental defective, the physically handicapped, and countless other variants among children present numerous puzzles in behavior. They are not easily placed, without cautious trial, in any one type home. The crux of the foster home situation is: does the child fit into it and become an insider, rather than a boarded outsider? Parents cannot give up their children as easily as foster parents, nor can children escape their parents under the law. It becomes important,



therefore, to insure permanence in placement, so as to provide some degree of continuity of foster parental guidance. This increases the responsibility for the selection of the parents best fitted for the particular child, an opportunity denied children by reason of biologic determinism. The type of human contact is most vital if environment is to offset hereditary trends, and if society is to atone for its own derelictions which constitute the basic necessity of most child placement.

#### 41—Frederic

**F**REDERIC, a fine, manly adolescent boy of fourteen years, had run away from home and had just been caught and returned. His I. Q. was 95, but his teacher reported him as "too lazy or indifferent to think."

In posture, presence, and address he indicated vigor, initiative, and self-confidence. He was frank and honest, courteous and respectful, reasonable but on the defensive. He did not dislike school, but he resented the discipline to which he was subjected in his home.

Frederic was residing in the city with a childless aunt, who felt herself able to offer him exceptional advantages that would be impossible in his own home. She had persuaded her sister to allow the boy to live with her. The earlier history of his life was conceded to have been free from any suggestion of arrogant disobedience or rebellious irritations. Until he made his home with his maternal aunt, whose ideas of puericulture were severely puritanic, he had been just an ordinary, good-natured, growing school boy. Her rules, regulations, directions, and denials soon proved irksome, and his self-assertiveness grew rapidly because of the assault upon his personality, and through the limitations of its reasonably free expression. From resenting too much discipline it was a short step to resenting the aunt. Anger developed, and rebellious conduct ensued, as a result of which penalties increased, and his suppression became more definite by new prohibitions. Anger expanded into hate, and an impulsive determination finally gave him the energy to attempt an escape through flight.

## 248 The Challenge of Childhood

A bitter mental conflict arose,—through the contrast of his poorer and happier home with the fine but repressive character of his aunt's,—which disorganized his attention, memory, and association, so that school work was reduced to a low plane of effort and accomplishment. His school reports did not create a favorable impression in the home, and the teacher appeared to corroborate the opinion of the aunt that Frederic was not of much good. Nevertheless, he had not played truant until this flight episode.

Frederic had not been responsible for his first change of address or for the provision of a substitute home with his aunt, and the social situation that arose from the different economic resources of the two sisters was beyond his control. The attitude of his parents in consenting to the change of environment was born of excellent motives, and the failure of their arrangement was not due to their ignorance, interference, or yearning for his return. The truth was that they had sent him to a new *home*, and he had found only an aunt who was seeking to live out her stunted life through her sister's child instead of aiding the boy to live his own life while she fostered and nurtured him. When no other escape was possible Frederic was sound in his reaction; he assumed the mastery of his fate, even though his immaturity prompted a doubtful course of procedure. He set out for the home of his parents, taking no money save his own to help him reach it.

After all the phases of the situation had been discussed, Frederic, despite his dislike of his aunt, agreed to remain with her upon condition that she change her ways. He had no real inclination to undergo hardships, and he was willing to secure a better education than he could have away from town.

But the aunt, regardless of warnings, argument, persuasion, and the espousal of the boy's cause by her husband, failed to see the error in her ideas and principles of child training. After a short interval she realized the impossibility of the situation, and she accepted the alternative plan of returning Frederic to his parents. Thus the proper social solution of the difficulty was attained. The boy had been the victim of misplaced confidence and error of judgment on the part of devoted parents.

## 42—Alfred

ALFRED had run away from home, and he was said to be lazy and untrustworthy. In addition, he was accused of poor work at school and of petty stealing.

The results of his psychological examinations are interesting. With a chronological age of  $13 \frac{3}{12}$  years, there was a mental age of  $11 \frac{2}{12}$  years and an Intelligence Quotient of 84, and at this time he was reported to evidence some emotional instability though he showed good judgment and a keen sense of humor. Five months later, with a chronological age of  $13 \frac{8}{12}$  years, his mental age was  $13 \frac{1}{12}$  years and his Intelligence Quotient 95. After some adjustments had been made, with a chronological age of  $15 \frac{1}{12}$  years, he revealed a mental age of  $15 \frac{4}{12}$  years and an Intelligence Quotient of 101. Hence, the first suspicion that he was of a dull mentality was shown to be false for he actually had an average cerebral power which had been somewhat inhibited in activity by emotional influences. What these conditions were may be appreciated by his past social history.

Alfred's mother was a woman of careless habits and low moral standards. His father had a record of arrests for drunkenness and petty larceny. The home they formed was characterized by squalor and licentiousness. The guardianship became so improper and hazardous that when the boy was four he and his sister were removed therefrom and placed in an institution. He remained in this shelter until he was twelve years old, at which time his mother wished to re-establish a home, her husband having died of a combination of tuberculosis and alcoholism.

Just as Alfred was beginning to make his adjustments to life with his mother she married another irresponsible man many years her junior. The foster-father was an irregular worker and manifested little parental interest in his stepchildren save to assert his dominance over them.

The home thus constituted was in a neighborhood of marked social and economic inferiority, and visitors and other associates of the children were of a low and undesirable type. The entire atmosphere in and out of the home

## 250 The Challenge of Childhood

was fraught with temptations, exposures to indecent conditions, and enervating influences. The boy got into the habit of stealing small articles and defensively accounting for their possession by saying that he had found them. The step-father, finding his influence unavailing, desired that Alfred be returned to an institution, but as a compromise he was sent temporarily to the home of a paternal aunt.

The home of this aunt was one of high standards and comfort and contained a group of younger children. During a short period in this environment there were various problems of adjustment, as Alfred appeared unwilling to work very much. Moreover, he seemed to take pleasure in twitting the children about his superior ability. Rigid standards and a religious conflict, owing to the fact that he was a Roman Catholic and his aunt a Protestant, led to various unpleasant episodes. As a result of these things, Alfred was returned to his mother.

When the boy realized the difference in the methods of living between the real home atmosphere he had been obliged to forego and the place of brawls, discomfort, and unhappiness to which he had returned, he became very unhappy. He reacted, particularly to his step-father, in various unpleasant ways. He began to steal small amounts of wood and coal which he sold in order to secure money for movies, candy, and other adolescent interests and needs. He became friendly with boys who were not averse to theft. As a whole, however, he was of a quiet, non-pugnacious nature, although he had an appearance of hostility towards the world.

His school work manifested a lack of interest, a high degree of retardation, and he was markedly tardy in his attendance. As Alfred had been in the fourth grade until he visited his aunt,—where he was thought to be able to do sixth grade work,—on his return home he was tried in the fifth grade, where a larger degree of interest was secured with some evidence of ability to perform the work without difficulty. There was, however, a constant distress arising from his unsatisfactory home surroundings, influences, and relationships. A crisis came when his parents insisted upon his handing over the money he received from

the sale of stolen property. When Alfred refused his stepfather announced that he would report him so that he might be "put away," and threatened that he would be taken away at once if he did not get out of the house.

At this juncture Alfred's emotions crystallized into an assertion of independence and a determination to fight for his rights. Immediately he ran away. His goal was the only real home he had ever known, and of which he had pleasant recollections of food, shelter, and companionships.

His aunt, in view of the disagreeable features of their past relations, was in a quandary as to whether to accept the responsibility of receiving him; but she was soon convinced of the desirability of giving the boy a chance to redeem himself and to secure constructive influences during the adolescent period. His mother and stepfather were not averse to his remaining with the aunt, regardless of the religious differences, and felt satisfied to be relieved of immediate responsibility for his welfare.

The adjustment proved satisfactory. Alfred attended school regularly, manifested an interest in his work, and indicated the normal capacity that was shown in his last psychological test, which was made after he had been there for several months. His good humor reasserted itself, and a considerable degree of his adolescent irritability subsided. He took up his household chores and performed them regularly and satisfactorily. His tendencies toward theft ceased. He had been miscast in the part played with his mother, but he proved a successful juvenile in the drama of life as set in his aunt's house.

It was natural that the readjustment to permanent living in a home of high standards, sobriety, thrift, and parental solicitude should bring problems of its own. The outside child has a different position to establish and maintain in the presence of several other children who are bound together by ties of family brotherhood. It was inevitable that there should be some friction between Alfred and his cousins—the adolescent boy is rarely a constantly genial companion for children several years younger than himself. The tendency to tease was soon exhibited again, with typical, arrogant assumptions of superiority. The aunt's

## 252 The Challenge of Childhood

sympathy naturally went first to her own children, and there arose questions as to whether her child-saving experiment should be continued. She, too, was obliged to make adjustments in her point of view as a result of further enlightenment concerning the nature of adolescent traits, the means of guiding them, and the advantages of her continued counsel and guidance to her brother's child.

The experiment is still in progress, but its success is assured. And in all likelihood Alfred's increasing physical and mental development will result in a stabilizing of his character which will be a tribute to an aunt's devotion and to the inherent self-respecting qualities of the boy's character.

It is patent that the social approach has been consistent in the solution of Alfred's progress. If one were to enumerate the social elements entering into the evolution of his character, one might mention: the unfortunate and fateful marriage that gave him birth; the alcoholism and immorality of his parents and their economic failure; his removal to an institution because of improper guardianship; the influence of eight years of institutional regulations; the release from repressive measures to freedom in a highly solicitous home; the check to his unfolding character through his mother's re-marriage and the entrance into the home of an indolent, brutal stepfather; the influence of a disorderly, low type neighborhood; and the threat of being "put away" once more. These were the elements that led to, and hastened, Alfred's emotional and moral deterioration.

The reconstructive elements were: the social influences that arose as a result of his flight from home to an affectionate aunt; the decent companionships formed through her influence; the opportunities for normal adjustments in school; the inculcation of habits of industry; and the continued benefit of intelligent, foster-parental care.

It is not necessary to analyze these social factors in their definite effects upon character. There is sufficient variety to indicate the numerous social forces and pressures, both destructive and constructive, which assailed Alfred and his innate personality trends, just as similar social elements



bend, break, or straighten other children. The brunt of the influences was brought to bear upon him during the period of slowly developing adolescence, and the emotional instabilities of this period were greatly increased.

It is apparent, however, that the accusations concerning his character, while they were based upon his active misdemeanors, were fundamentally wrong. He was not essentially a liar, a thief, or a ne'er-do-well, but his true character had been masked through his reaction against social assaults upon his finer development. The correction of his misbehavior could not have been secured by a purely physical or mental approach. His attitudes and conduct were normal symptoms of social maladjustment, and the natural evolution of his character towards sound and effective living demanded only the readjustment of his social environment.

It is this type of adjustment that goes far to indicate the essential interactions of heredity and environmental influences. On the basis of the character and performance of his parents, Alfred's character potentials would not be regarded other than as a hazard. Had he continued to live in the unfortunate environment from which he was removed to a child caring institution, there would have been at least eight years of subjection to environing forces constantly tending to lower his physical and moral fibre. Institutional life saved him from the dangerous influence of a pernicious environment upon his possible inherited qualities. The recurrence of unfavorable conduct tendencies, when re-subjected to antisocial environment, strongly suggests Alfred's susceptibility to deteriorative influences. At the same time, his prompt response to elevating, accommodative, and moral forces reveals a similar reactivity to the agencies for character betterment. The innate forces remaining the same, the determination of his personality depends upon his social experiences. Thus, to this boy environment is of greater consequence and significance than heredity. The inherited traits are capable of sublimation into usefulness, with a final outgrowth of a qualitative and quantitative capacity for life that will be the expression of his environment far more than of his heredity.

## 254 The Challenge of Childhood

### 43—Paul

**P**AUL, an adolescent boy of sixteen, was repressed and unhappy, restless and untruthful. In addition, he was having great difficulty with his school work.

With an average mental endowment (I. Q. 93), this lad was grappling with high school subjects in competition with boys far superior to him in ability. He had lost interest in the formal academic branches but desired to gain a knowledge of mechanical and constructive subjects. He was a capable mechanic and was able to lead in most forms of work requiring ingenuity, muscular coördination, and application to definite concrete problems. He was foundering in a formal school that prepared for the classical course in college. His innate power, interests, and enthusiasms were being ignored because there was determination to educate him in accord with the judgment and desires of those responsible for him.

It was evident that the school maladjustment was not sufficient to explain satisfactorily his peculiarities. The significant factor lay in his social relations. He was untidy, bashful, reticent, seclusive, irritable, resistant, and revealed to a mild degree that sort of contrariness which has been termed negativism. The crux of the situation lay in his adoption. At an early age Paul had been accepted into a childless home to bring it cheer. His father was a brutal ne'er-do-well of the Lothario type, while his mother suffered from a psychosis requiring her confinement in an institution. Beyond these meager facts, secured from a child-placing agency, there was no knowledge concerning his forbears, their lives and personalities.

He had been born in poverty and was transferred to a home of luxury and sensitive solicitude. Every desire was gratified, and abundant opportunity was provided to give him a rich life. One thing was lacking, however,—normal home relationships. The foster parents were as busy as they were cultured, so a governess was given complete charge of the child. The foster parents assumed that they were doing their utmost in making many gifts and in showing their affection through petting.

As Paul grew older he was sent to a boarding-school that

he might have unusual educational advantages, and the home contact was limited to holidays, for summer vacations found him in a boys' camp. His school record was never of a high order, and in camp he evidenced a disinclination to fit into the ordered scheme of living, although he was active in all athletic games.

Before leaving his foster parents for school Paul was acquainted with the fact of his adoption, and this aroused many questions and considerable emotional reaction. Affection, however, was no part of this emotional response. Instead, it brought a shift of his attitude to a plane of respect and wonderment at his position in the home. There were even suspicions that he was being sent away to school to lessen his burdensomeness to the family. Having had no real family life, save in the form of restraints, preachment, and the inculcation of high ideals, he was doubtful of his own rights to opinions and self-initiated activities. He had become an unwilling and dissatisfied conformist to all that was proposed or provided for him.

In this state of mind Paul went away to school. And then began the change in his behavior. The pressure of a rigorous formal discipline aggravated his sense of inadequate mental power and the growing belief that he was somehow different from other boys, who had their own actual parents as counsellors and well-wishers. Paul began to avoid his schoolmates and to make friends with the town boys whenever occasion permitted. The necessity for the concealment of his low companionships forced falsification upon him as a defense of his own interests. The consciousness of his own unworthiness grew with the violation of one canon after another accepted as the social code in his new economic and social group. He was in a school among the sons of gentlemen, but he was not part of it. He soon felt out of place both at school and at home, and his brooding over the situation increased his difficulty in preparing his lessons, and increased his disaffection for the foster parents. With new urges arising, he sought to be with the fellows who appealed to him as more natural than his schoolmates, and he adopted an attitude of sullenness towards his teachers. He lied to keep out of trouble; he stole to give presents to his new companions; he became disagreeable so that

## 256 The Challenge of Childhood

he might be expelled from school; he caused unpleasant situations in the hope that he might be sent to work. He wanted to be free and independent, while he was craving for real mothering. In his sadness there was an element of comfort, because it secured the expression of greater personal interest in him. Paul was rebelling against Fate, which had commandeered him to brighten a home that lacked the basic understanding to grant him a personality of his own. His mental state had assumed a serious phase, and a psychosis seemed imminent.

Obviously, in order to prevent a mental breakdown, the time had arrived to make a violent change of circumstances. The intelligent foster parents were alarmed, and they were prepared to sacrifice their dreams for the reality confronting them. Paul was taken out of school, and after a brief trade training was allowed to enter a shop and become self-supporting. In order to place him in a more congenial environment, he was sent to a distant community to live at the home of one of his poor relatives, who had recently lost her only son and had a wealth of available affection to offer him. There he had the companionship of two younger girls. Above all, he felt that he belonged to this home, not only because it represented the type in which he had been born, but also because he was contributing to its maintenance with a part of his weekly earnings. He faced about when he saw that his position in life for the first time was dependent upon his own reactions and activities. His troubled mind grew more calm, and he slowly came forth from repressed and depressed states to a mild degree of elation, which in turn subsided to a fairly reasonable, normal outlook on his life and on his relations to those who had previously sought to enrich him through adoption.

Sufficient time has not yet elapsed to foretell the future, but at present Paul is well adjusted and is making a commonplace success of his life. However, he is not wholly free from symptoms of mental distress, and there is still a possibility of dementia praecox.

The program for bringing together the homeless child and the childless home requires contemplation. Hereditary factors are not recognized in the child in early years, particularly if adoption occurs after a period of institutional ex-

perience. Nor is it always feasible to secure information concerning the nature or habits of the parents of children offered for adoption. Possibly this is an advantage, as it lessens any prejudices against future trends in conduct. On the other hand, definite knowledge of this character might be helpful in understanding and interpreting tendencies that demand careful correction or direction at a later period in life. Assuredly the more one knows of a child's ancestry the more intelligently may its development be guided. To some there is a consolation in ignorance because, if a chance is taken, at least there is not the same responsibility for the unpleasant traits that one feels for one's own child. Recognizing the failures that many parents meet with their own children, the adopters realize that they run no greater risks than if consanguinity were involved to the highest degree.

Regardless of these attitudes, there is a marked social obligation involved in adoption. The duty to the child and the obligation for familial life include a deep responsibility to the community in attempting to perfect one of the units. For many reasons it is essential to know that the child,—and if possible the mother,—is free from constitutional disease. Syphilis, gonorrhea, tuberculosis, and mental disease merit special inquiry. The Wasserman test, complement fixation for gonorrhea, and the physical examination suffice for all except the mental condition. The history of the parents and their families, when obtainable, will cast light upon ancestral mental potentials. Before adoption every child should have a complete physical and mental examination, in order to safeguard the home that he is about to enter. Early nutritional disorders may affect the values of such examinations, but they represent at least an effort to become acquainted with the child before making it a sharer in family life and fortunes. Investigation, which too frequently is ignored in the adoption of a child, is considered requisite before allowing space to a cow or a horse in the family barn or stable.

Talking and walking usually begin at from ten to eighteen months of age, at which time normally two to twelve teeth have erupted. The two year old child who does not speak is likely to be mentally defective, weak in hearing, or he may be a mute. By the end of the third year one may test

## 258 The Challenge of Childhood

out a variety of mental processes and secure some idea of the relative mental ability of the child. After this age period there is little difficulty in estimating the general cerebral endowment. The psychological examination may not be infallible, but it is far more certain than snap judgment upon facial appearance or muscular activity. The greatest care will not eliminate the possibility of a later exhibition of personality disorders in the adopted child, but they are not more likely to exist than among other groups of children. In fact, the possibility of avoiding the personal guardianship of mental defectives is greater with intelligent methods of adoption than by following the more usual custom of judging a child's mentality from its appearance. The early knowledge of the intellectual potentials of children adopted is most helpful in guiding their educational careers, and leads to a truer appreciation of their character and efforts.

Some children are penalized by adoption, when the desire for children is not accompanied by the true feeling of parenthood. A poor home with parental affection and familial life is more desirable than wealthy surroundings in which a child is denied the personal nurture and affection for which it yearns. Mere adoption is legal, but parenthood is spiritual. The discontents, unhappiness, and sufferings of adopted children are no less than those of their foster parents, when a bond of real affection does not unite them. Frequently the adopted child occupies in the home an anomalous position of which he later becomes aware, especially after he has become acquainted with the truth concerning his adoption. It is well to recognize that for such children emotional unrest may be more severe during the adolescent period because the psychologic adjustments must take cognizance of special facts and conditions not within the experience of other children. There are elements of similarity in emotional experience between the adopted child and the one brought up in an institution. The sharpness of reaction varies, but the social adjustment is none the less real for many of them.

The approach to a solution of the problems of adopted children is distinctly social, despite the need for physical oversight, intellectual guidance, and emotional education.



The adoption may solve a vital need of the childless parents and even satisfy all the requirements of most children. Occasionally, however, the precipitant factor of conduct disorder is bound up in the altered social status. The failures to adjust may arise from intangible, inherited elements in character, as well as from acquired characteristics that develop from reactions to the newly envioning situation.

#### 44—Harold

**H**AROLD was a ten year old boy, of quiet demeanor and gentle appearance, who evidenced timidity and was alleged by his teacher to be mentally deficient. C. A. 10, M. A. 10, I. Q. 100. Basal age 10 years.

Harold's physical state cast little light upon his difficulty, although possibly a moderate visual defect, with a turning in of one eye, might be partially responsible for his inaccurate school work.

He was self-contained, slow in his movements, and rather easily dismayed. He was patient, cheerful, somewhat sensitive, and apparently repressed. His honesty, truthfulness, and sincerity were not questioned. Examination revealed a consistent mental power, resourcefulness, independence in thinking, a well-developed imagination, and a delightful sense of humor. He was of the refined, artistic type, with esthetic trends more active than athletic interests. Friendliness, an attitude of respect, shyness, and modesty were in constant evidence.

Harold's teacher in the fifth grade regarded him as mentally below the average because he was having difficulty with school subjects. There was every evidence of the normality of his inherent mental endowment. He was not a bright child, but an ordinary, average boy in memory, association, retentiveness, learning ability, reasoning, and comprehension. Although there was a tendency to inaccuracy, his achievement, as shown by testing, indicated a fitness for the grade in which he was. His range of general information was wide and beyond the scope of his school material. In concrete material he evidenced unusual strength, with a splendid sense of color and form and a marked constructive imagination.

## 260 The Challenge of Childhood

He was awake to current events, and was interested in drawing, printing, painting, and the use of tools. He enjoyed his studies and quiet games but cared little for baseball or other active games popular among boys.

The boy acknowledged that he did not study very hard, although he was anxious to keep advancing in his school subjects. And he was not especially charmed by his teacher, who frequently threatened him with non-promotion and suggested his unfitness for the work of her grade.

Harold's hereditary background was one of nervousness and irritability combined with industry, responsibility, rigid conventionality, and intellectual vigor. His home was presided over by a stern, dictatorial father,—a proud, rigorous disciplinarian. The mother was a sweet semi-invalid, self-cultured, self-pitying, and greatly irritated by the trifles of daily life,—a true "nervous housewife." There was fortunately an older child, who was well-balanced, capable, industrious, and friendly toward her brother.

Towards his parents Harold had a sense of loyalty and a feeling of kindness, although he hesitatingly commented that he was punished more frequently than he deserved. There was no fear of his parents; but his punishments were ever on his mind, although he doubted whether the chastisements effected any correction of his behavior.

He was extremely fond of his sister, but he felt that she was not judged according to the standards by which he was measured, and that, in consequence, she escaped all corporal punishment. The difference of four and a half years between their ages failed to impress him as sufficient reason for the marked freedom and privileges accorded her, and a definite jealousy had developed.

The difficulty lay definitely in the home. A strong father was endeavoring to train his son by the frequent use of a horsewhip. The harsh punishment was varied only in the number of blows given and their intensity, which of course depended upon the degree of parental excitement rather than upon the nature of the alleged wrongdoing. The whipping was an unintelligent act, which relieved anger in the parent and created it in the child. The fear of the whip was constantly inspired by its prominent position among the household effects and repeated references to its

availability and probable utilization. The father was not essentially brutal, but he had a firm belief that sparing the whip would be the ruination of the boy. The physical strength of the father was the disciplinary asset of the home, and its investment apparently satisfied the mother. She recounted the misdemeanors of the day to her husband when he returned home, weary and irritable, and his use of the whip was almost of daily occurrence.

Harold's timidity arose from fear and the constant irritation incident to his home environment. His attempts at lightheartedness gave rise to song, laughter and noise, which annoyed his mother, and hence their exhibition was construed as punishable naughtiness. "Don't!" "Stop!" "I'll tell father." "Remember the whip." were the most frequent reminders of the maternal presence. The threats of dire punishment were fostering self-repression, deceit, and resentment, as well as shyness, discontent, and sadness. He was browbeaten and abused for being honest in his expression of happiness, and threatened and whipped for seeking an outlet for physical energy at home.

This alleged mental defective was a normal boy held in the thralldom of an ever-present fear of the whip. He had become timid, and he lacked concentration in school work. His mind was grappling with a means of escape from corporal punishment as more helpful to him than solving problems involving insensate fractions. Adolescence was developing alteration in his emotional constitution, and his sensitiveness to insults to his body was increasing.

No effort had been made to offset Harold's increasing jealous resentment towards his sister. There was no explanation that at his age the sister too had fewer privileges for enjoyment, development, and expansion. He had been permitted to build up the monstrous idea of parental favoritism to the sister; and yet a brief discussion of the situation sufficed to satisfy him as to the fairness of a differentiation between them on the basis of age, sex, school grading, physical strength, and familial assistance.

The home had made no effort to elicit his coöperation in making family life happier. There had been a direct policy of rigid, formal, inhuman, irrational discipline. The boy was in an atmosphere of constant nervous tension. Self-

## 262 The Challenge of Childhood

consciousness was forced upon him. A sense of inferiority, uselessness, and disobedient viciousness was pounded into him. The necessity for parental self-control was not recognized. No affection, praise, patience, encouragement grew out of the parent-child relation. Harold was the victim of a home which believed that corporal punishment was the most effective factor in forming and reforming character, and no thought had been given to its deforming phases. With the best of intentions, the child's spirit was being broken.

Fortunately, the parents were otherwise intelligent, amenable to reason, and willing to alter their systems of home education. Opprobrious adjectives were promptly discontinued, and terms of approval, endearment, and stimulation were substituted. The whip was sent to a stable, and corporal punishment was abolished. The mother was referred to a physician for the treatment of her nervous condition. The angry reactions of the father were subdued after discussion, reflection, and comment upon the days of his own youth. Many things said and done by Harold were overlooked, and new interpretations were given to the wonted exhilaration of adolescent life. The boy was given a work bench, and his father took pride in teaching him to create useful objects. Energies were diverted into practical, helpful directions. Printing, drawing, familial games, and the mutual aid of sister and brother inaugurated a new era of self-respect, confidence, and feelings in harmony with approaching manhood.

School work was no longer difficult, and Harold's progress altered his status in the eyes of his teacher. Timidity gave way to friendly companionability with other boys, even though he had no enthusiasm for sports. As his home life became more normal, his personality expanded outside the home, through increasing social contacts. His fears vanished, and he took up a reconstructed childhood in a reconstructed home.

Patently, the social life of the home is of the utmost significance in developing personality and character. Too frequently there is an absence of the stability, understanding, and calm reasoning that is essential for intelligent guidance. The mass of general knowledge concerning children is but slowly filtering into the home. A wider use of

the visiting teacher, the public health nurse, the probation officer, and the social worker is yielding tremendous advantages to the groups they serve, in proportion to their own information, sentiments, opinions, and experiences. The great majority of families fortunately do not require such ministrations, and so for them the principles of child nurture are not readily available. The colleges give comparatively little instruction upon this subject, which assuredly possesses a vital value. Parent-teacher associations occasionally direct discussion to phases of educational hygiene, although with too little emphasis on education in the home; and occasional groups of earnest mothers, scattered throughout the country, are intent upon self-education in the art of training their offspring.

But there is evident need for a developed program by women's clubs, school systems, and State and Federal departments of education to expound a gospel of parenthood which will be of social value. The finest crop of a country is its children, and they should have the advantages that would be available if all their parents were farmers and they were inert vegetables or saleable cattle.

#### 45—Henry

**H**ENRY, a bright-faced boy of thirteen and a half years, had a chip on his shoulder. He was said to be very ill-tempered, treating his younger brother harshly and cruelly, and fighting with his mother. He had even attempted to beat her.

Physically he was a strong, vigorous, adolescent youth of average size and weight, eager for activity of all sorts. He acknowledged that he had a quick temper, and that when he was greatly agitated he acted blindly and unwisely.

His I. Q. was 127, and his brightness was indicated by his presence in the third term of high school, where his record of achievement was excellent. To be a forester was his ambition, and he was looking forward to earning his way through college.

His father had died a few years before, and gradually Henry had come to regard himself as the head of the home. In accordance with this belief he had attempted to discipline

## 264 The Challenge of Childhood

his brother along lines that his experience with his father had made familiar. The brother resented this attempted domination and naturally appealed to the mother for protection. Maternal remonstrance irritated Henry and stirred him to revolt against her interference, particularly as his actions concerned his own comfort and happiness. The frequency of maternal direction and correction amounted to nagging, and he was blamed for anything that went wrong. Henry was actually jealous of his mother's position in the home and resented her domination. With a larger formal educational experience than had been her privilege, he believed he possessed a riper judgment for the decision of familial affairs.

As the oldest child Henry had been impressed with his duties and obligations, and he had sought to live up to them in harmony with his views of the functions of the head of the house. Unfortunately his intellect had not been active in directing his conduct. The emotional waves of adolescence had swept him on to unthinking action. He had forgotten the mother-child relationship while focusing his thought upon the paternal authority he believed to be his prerogative. His independence had been over-developed to the point of denying freedom of action to any other member of the household. The boy's self-centered emotions and active mind had been unchecked by masculine influence. His thinking and reasoning had been premised upon his own superiority,—a not unnatural phenomenon among adolescents. His development had been skewed by reason of his father's death and the consequent lack of paternal guidance, instruction, and discipline.

Henry's mother was obliged to support the family through her own labor, though Henry occasionally earned a little money at odd jobs. Her husband had not been an American citizen, and as a result there was no aid in the form of a widow's pension. The mother was away from the home the entire day, and it had become sadly disorganized.

The combination of poverty, the ignorance and pre-occupation of the mother, with adolescent ideals, ambition, and paternalistic superiority had brought about a state of mind that was unusually volcanic. Nothing in the home pleased



Henry, and despite his efforts, violent as they were at times, there was little improvement. The demoralizing influences in Henry's life were cumulative, until finally he endeavored to usurp all authority by demonstrating his physical fitness to compel his widowed mother to do his bidding. After two or three unpleasant experiences with her man-son, the mother realized the necessity for immediate protective relief to preserve her status in the home and to safeguard the growing character of her rebellious older son.

The boy was free from physical handicaps, his mental ability was very superior, but his emotional reactions were markedly unstable. The displays of aggressive temper were the outcome of his mother's widowhood and its effects upon the home life. The adjustment of the situation could not await a remarriage, nor was there certainty that other conflicts might not have resulted from this course. Every effort was made to enlighten the mother as to the psychological elements entering into the boy's conduct. Her own attitude became less critical, and she endeavored to win his coöperation by calling upon him for more manly service than the mere running of errands. She undertook a deliberate plan to establish a basis of healthful companionship for their free time. She offered him a large measure of her confidence and talked over family affairs with him not as a child, but as a fairly mature individual. She showed respect for his opinions and in quiet discussions sought to give him an understanding of her trials and struggles to preserve the home and to grant him the advantages of a schooling that had been denied her. So son and mother grew to understand and to respect each other.

To supplement these efforts, a man's counsel was supplied the boy, and the responsibilities of an elder son towards his mother were defined for him in terms of public opinion. Henry's desire for social esteem served as a check upon his overweening egoistic attitude. He sought to bring his conduct into harmony with rational filial affection and duty. He found real familial coöperation a satisfying substitute for personal exploitation. He imposed upon himself a masculine discipline that was as effective as any that a father might have furnished. He transformed the emotions of a boy who thought he was a man into the feelings of a

## 266 The Challenge of Childhood

young man who desired to supply the attitude of a father in the home. His conduct altered so that his mother was strengthened and spared by his attentiveness and devotion, while his brother received the sound advice and help that a father might have offered.

Widowhood is a more serious element in child welfare than widowerhood. The large number of widowers remarrying shows that they seek a normal environment for the growth and development of their children. The widower, often for self-protection, turns over the care of his youngsters to a woman, while he continues to remain the wage earner. Pending remarriage, his children are settled in the care of his mother or other female relative, or in an institution, unless he has a daughter sufficiently old to undertake the duties of housekeeper and little mother for the younger children. The status of his home is materially altered by the absence of the mother, but the effects upon the children, particularly the adolescents, are less serious than when the father dies and the home is under the sole direction of the widow.

Many widows solve their problems by marrying again, but this is often impossible when there are more than two children. The death of the father—the main wage earner—alters the economic, and frequently the social, status of the family. The average family has nothing left of the insurance money after the undertaker has been paid. The family must face a new life, with the full responsibility upon the widow. Income stops or is reduced so that the mother must enter active employment. If a mother's pension is available an inadequate sum of money is allotted, despite the theory that the state is benefitted by a mother's full care of her children. To give her children a fit home, sufficient food, proper clothing, and religious and secular schooling, the widow must become a wage earner in or out of the home, or be subsidized by a philanthropic society. Home standards are lowered, whether they were previously high or low, unless a large inheritance makes employment unnecessary. The widow is charged with increased responsibilities, and finds diminished time and energy to live up to them. She is called upon to be a mother, a wage earner, a housekeeper, an educator, a nurse, a cook, a dressmaker,

a guide, a playmate, and a friend to her children. She is tied down more than ever to her home, and possesses only very limited opportunity for physical recreation and spiritual realization. The struggle to raise her family tells on her, and increasing irritability, nervousness, and fatigue leave their impress. The value of her greatest service in guiding the character development of her children is impaired through the daily grind for subsistence.

Day nurseries, homes for half-orphans, public schools, playgrounds, settlements, vocational subsidies, pensions, relief societies, churches, Big Brothers and Big Sisters, truant officers, juvenile courts, reformatories, all seek to mitigate or eliminate the problems of widows in their special ways. The large number of institutions and agencies that are required attest the variety of unfavorable factors bound up in the home that has been marred through the death of the father. The patient, long-suffering, willing, industrious, and optimistic widow requires a greater degree of tact and understanding in managing her children than does the ordinary mother, who has at least the potential assistance of a husband even though he be a weak father.

If child nurture be the concern of the State, education, the prevention of delinquency, vocational guidance and direction merit a larger degree of intelligent discussion in legislative halls. The laws for the conservation of children are inadequate, unless they are based upon an appreciation of the altered status of the home after the death of the father. Closely linked to the problem of widowhood is the similarly unfortunate environment for children in cases of desertion and in the plight of the unmarried mother.

#### 46—Charles

CHARLES was a gentle, affable boy, who in spite of his fifteen years easily gave way to tears. Moreover he suffered from great sensitiveness and from a feeling of inadequacy. His school work was not satisfactory, and he lacked concentration.

He was well-nourished, carried himself well, and save for nail-biting and a moderate astigmatism he evidenced no physical defects.

## 268    The Challenge of Childhood

With a chronological age of  $15\frac{1}{2}$  years, there was a mental age of  $14\frac{1}{2}$  years and an Intelligence Quotient of 92, thus placing him in the category of children with average intellectual endowment for acquiring education. His power of reasoning and generalizing was excellent, and he showed common sense in his judgments. But his work at school was below the level expected in his grade, the second year high school (tenth grade).

His spelling was of eighth grade standards. His speed in silent reading was that commonly found in the seventh grade, although with considerable difficulty in reproducing content. He revealed a high power of comprehension of reading, and he seemed to be utilizing his inherent mental endowment to the utmost. In arithmetic there was no difficulty with the fundamental operations save in the mechanical processes involved in long division.

Charles was an only child whose parents were divorced. Circumstances required him to live with his grandparents, and in their home he had taken the position of his mother's brother who had died shortly before his own birth. The home atmosphere was one of great solicitude, with rigid, old-time standards, and constant insistence upon his conformity to adult conceptions of his welfare. His whole future had been laid out for him without any consultation as to his interests, enthusiasms, or ambitions.

His difficulties in school work had been a source of distress to his mother and grandparents, and he had become sensitive to their demands for more application. The principal of his school denounced him as lazy and, without knowing the circumstances, dogmatically asserted that there was no excuse for the kind of work he was doing. As a matter of fact, he was spending four hours daily upon his studies. His diligence and desire to please were so great that for more than two years he had been deprived of all opportunities for participating in athletic sports or the group activities of boys, for which he had normal capacities and interests. His daily program was one long grind at educational material. His main recreation was with adults. He had little opportunity to enjoy companionships of his own selection.

In view of his mother's marital unhappiness, Charles had

a definite desire to abide by home regulations and to pursue his school work so as to add to her contentment. At the same time he admired his father and wanted paternal guidance. He cast no blame on anyone save himself, but he felt that much of his difficulty and mental distress might have been obviated in a normal home. He accepted the unfortunate situation because he recognized that he could not change it. He appreciated that he had lost his own status as a grandchild by living with his grandparents and had virtually become the youngest child of elderly foster parents, who had assumed responsibility for him. He did not rebel severely against the limitation of his friendships, but he pathetically commented, "I have been robbed of companionship."

Here, then, was a boy with intense filial devotion and a sympathetic type of affection which was anxious to express itself in his daily habits and conduct. He recognized his obligations and responsibilities as a son, but was conscious that he had been deprived of the guidance and counsel of his father, and upbringing by his mother. He resented the accusation that he was lazy when he was consciously making every effort to perform his school work and was succeeding well in the light of his inherent mental powers. His future troubled him; he foresaw the disappointment to his grandparents if he failed to go to college, and the thought of future failures was distressing to him. Above all, he objected to the dominance of elderly people, who, from the vantage point of years, regarded him as a little child and denied him independence in thought and freedom in action.

Patently, an adolescent boy of this type was being subjected to unusual emotional strains by virtue of his status. His personality was being cramped by circumstances arising from divorce. Like many others, he was subject to a division of sentiments and feelings towards his parents. When the custody of the child is given over to one parent, with the privilege of communicating with the other, or when part of each year is spent with either parent, the child becomes the victim of abnormal relationships. It was not unnatural that Charles's educational difficulties should be complicated by the mental conflicts arising from the parental attitudes and the abnormal home situation in

## 270 The Challenge of Childhood

which maternal guidance was superseded by that of the grandfather.

At a time when Charles should have been securing the largest measure of social contacts with companions of both sexes, he was bound by adult companionships and thwarted by constant direction. The independent thinking of a growing boy was being frustrated by sharp emotional reactions, vague desires, a sense of inferiority, and a doubt as to his future. The affection lavished upon him had been, in a sense, compensatory for the deprivation of paternal guidance and interest. The rigidity in control had been born of a lack of understanding but had been based upon a conscious desire to atone for the results of divorce. •

The most deleterious effects of divorce are usually worked out on the children. While, as in this instance, there may be many alterations in the home environment which will mitigate the severity of the pressure brought upon the child, his natural and fullest development is less likely to occur than in a home normally constituted. It is undoubtedly true that the brawling home possesses little advantage compared with the equable atmosphere secured through divorce. Nevertheless, as long as the cruelties of parental animosities are not vented *upon* children, they are not subject to the internal stresses that exist when divorce breaks up the home and warps and tears those intangible ties termed home influence. The situation abounds in conditions similar to those arising from widowhood and desertion, with the possibility of an increased number of mental conflicts.

The great increase in divorces throughout this country, however, indicates the importance of recognizing the evils of divorce as visited upon the offspring of unhappy unions. When the custody of children is awarded to the father, he solves the problem through remarriage, a governess, a housekeeper, or a boarding-school. There is an effort to provide for the children along definite lines, because the father is occupied with business affairs. Too frequently, unless the alimony is large, the divorcing mother and her children take refuge with relatives. At times the children may be sent to boarding-schools or placed in institutions



and thus lose also the normal advantages of maternal affection.

The most adequate method of adjustment of the child problems arising out of divorce would appear to be re-marriage, a new home, and the provision of the natural surroundings fostering parent-child relationships. While this at times may further confuse the environing issues, it offers the greater likelihood of protection to the mental growth of children than the continuation of an abnormal life resulting from the divorced state.

#### 47.—Edward

EDWARD was a fourteen year old boy who had been lying, stealing, and playing truant.

This boy was selfish, impulsive, resourceful, despite a lack of quick-mindedness. Physically he had considerable dental caries, enlarged and diseased tonsils, and a nasal spur which further interfered with correct nasal breathing. His feet were pronated, and there was a lateral curvature of the spine. He also showed various evidences of nervousness, as expressed in nail-biting and general motor restlessness.

With a chronological age of  $14\frac{1}{2}$  years, he revealed a mental age of 14 years and an Intelligence Quotient of 98, which placed him in the category of children with average cerebral endowment. His basal age, however, was only 10 years.

His visual and auditory memory spans were below the levels of his age, and he required therefore an extra degree of application in acquiring mastery over formal educational material. His muscular coördinations were poor, and his general powers of association were weak, although he appeared to have no difficulty with his reasoning. He possessed adequate comprehension to profit by experiences from the intellectual standpoint, although his emotional life naturally determined the degree to which he could make adjustments in the light of his intellectual judgments. His imagination was moderately broad in content and rapid in reaction time. His ethical concepts were adequately evolved, and his ethical judgments, as such, were sound. He was

## 272 The Challenge of Childhood

in the seventh grade at school for which he was apparently fitted.

While frequently there are marked difficulties in determining whether certain traits arise from heredity or environment, there was evidence that many slight phases of Edward's personality were not wholly attributable to environment. A boy who evidences temper similar to that of his father may have developed this characteristic as the result of the pattern exhibited to him, or it may be due to inheritance. Certainly the imitations of parental patterns may give rise to numerous suggestions of inheritance, which are accepted in a way to serve as a disclaimer of environmental responsibility. In this particular instance the parents were honest, industrious, respected, interested in various social and philanthropic organizations, and devoted to their children. And while the hereditary history of their respective families gave no indication of delinquency, feeble-mindedness, or antisocial conduct, Edward's conduct was certainly not dependent upon parental patterns, nor essentially upon exhibitions of conduct on the part of his younger brother or sister.

During the earlier years of his life Edward had been difficult to control, and numerous efforts had been made to counteract unfavorable companionships. When adolescence began the boy constantly disregarded parental advice and began to cast his lot with a group of adventure-seeking companions. As a result of this he was sent to a boarding school. Continued misbehavior in this private school caused his dismissal. When he returned home parental control decreased, while his undesirable companions gained in favor with him. Intermittent truancy developed, and he was obliged to repeat two grades. School transfers proved ineffective and showed that Edward was definitely disinterested in educational work. Moreover, he was apparently unwilling to coöperate in the household.

As a result of gang influences, he began peculations in the home. The needs of his group for adventure and pleasure soon led to personal instruction in the art of purse stealing, and the loot was shared with his instructor-companion. These experiences with the gang created a need for money, so that money tempted him. He desired

to go to the movies, to purchase showy articles, and to buy books of adventure and excitement from which he derived an emotional satisfaction. He was anxious to earn money and was willing to undertake any form of work, regardless of the physical effort involved. He was not lazy, even though he enjoyed sitting around smoking and playing craps, and he was sought out as an active player of basketball, football, and baseball. His opportunities for undesirable activities were increased because of the part time sessions in his school. Under this system of over-crowding, he had a school day of only four hours with the morning entirely free. As a result, he felt that he might return home at any hour of the night because there was always time to sleep in the morning.

The gang met more or less regularly, free to do whatever wrong suggested itself. The excitement of the thefts and the pleasures procurable on the proceeds made the idea of school duty negligible, and truancy became but the carrying on the morning holidays entailed by part time sessions.

Regardless of Edward's inherent character weaknesses, it was evident that the main elements in his distress were of social origin. The school system, which should have been educating him for useful citizenship, was assisting him to become an antisocial being. Dunlap has described general intelligence as "the capacity to learn those things of most general use to civilized man." Patently, the general intelligence, as a capacity to learn, requires direction and guidance, so that things learned are those of most general use to civilized man. The shortened school day is directly robbing every child suffering under it of twenty per cent of the educational opportunity which the law of his state demands. The part time session has provided a free period for the acquisition of habits directly opposed to those taught during the school session. While all children do not make such bad use of their free time, for Edward, at least, the part time session was a demoralizing force. It is difficult for schools to protect children against the possibilities of low companionships, but in this instance the short-sighted expediency of the school authorities facilitated complete demoralization of the social contacts without an adequate, coöperative, constructive influence to offset it. The school

## 274 The Challenge of Childhood

had lost caste with the child, just as much as the child had lost caste with the school. He and the school were both truants. It is worthy of note that schools on double-session or part-time plans are usually in sections where the fewest recreational facilities exist.

Edward's physical state indicated a failure of school medical inspection. After nine years in the public schools, he presented carious teeth, spinal curvature, pronated feet, and diseased tonsils,—which, if recognized and noted, were permitted to remain uncorrected despite the fact that his parents were willing to follow advice. His physical susceptibility to irritability had in no wise been decreased by the medical inspection of schools, and the follow-up system that is supposed to exist was essential for securing the correction of his remediable defects and handicaps. Medical inspection that merely tabulates physical deficiencies is useless. Thus it may be said that the failure of the medical inspection of schools, which is not under the Department of Education, was another social force inadequately employed to safeguard Edward's development.

The lack of health and recreational facilities in Edward's neighborhood provided another reason for his participation in the group activities of adolescent boys, bent upon achieving a satisfaction in excitement and adventure. Within the home there was a further drive towards this type of companionship, because his younger brother and sister possessed higher intellectual endowment and were making superior school progress, and, as a result, their successes were constantly held up as an example to him. This served to increase his interest in friends more like himself, particularly as the next child was four years younger than he and without any of the emotional development of the adolescent period. The family accomplishments, contrasted with his inadequate progress, increased his disinclination to attend school. His ten year old brother was in the sixth grade, only one year behind him, despite the four years difference in their ages.

Under the law Edward was obliged to go to school; within the law he was being kept out of school when he ought to be there; and by the law of the gang he was being estranged from school. Home law was inadequate to in-

duce respect for school. His truancy carried with it a threat of financial or jail punishment for the parents, and possible commitment for the child. The school looked upon him as incorrigible, and because of class congestion found it difficult to make marked adjustment of his school program which might stimulate him towards more rapid progress.

As the first step in breaking up his habits of stealing, defensive lying, and truancy, it was imperative that Edward's gang companions be broken up, and that he be fully occupied throughout the day. To this end, arrangements were made to shift him to a session requiring school attendance in the morning, and a job was found for him that occupied him during the afternoon. He was thus provided with the same limited number of school hours a day, but he had the advantage of being in school at the time that his friends were on the street. He was enabled to earn the money for the satisfaction of his needs, and was further kept apart from his erstwhile companions by definite, honest employment. He acquired a greater sense of power for self-direction, and received practical lessons in the value of money and the meaning of property rights; while through the handling of his own funds he was enabled to make finer distinctions between mine and thine. He was encouraged to open a bank account, and he began to have an appreciation of the value of thrift and to build up a definite concept concerning appropriating funds or objects of other people. He began to attain a feeling of responsibility towards himself and his family. He became regular in his school attendance, in order to complete the necessary grades so that at the earliest opportunity he might legally escape from school and devote himself to industry or commercial life.

Edward's normal desires for excitement and adventure were further capitalized by bringing him in touch with a boys' club, where gymnasium facilities were available, and in which team play might provide an outlet for his physical energies. While it would have been possible to send him away from home, it appeared more advantageous to test out his corrigibility in his own home so that he might make adjustments while living with his family. As a step in altering his status in the home, he was privileged to wear

## 276 The Challenge of Childhood

long trousers, which his physical development and maturity demanded. His parents then directed their efforts towards capitalizing his growing manhood, and they began to give him a degree of attention more commensurate with his years and with his school status. The practice of comparing him with his younger brother and sister was discontinued, and he was accepted for what he was, with his limitations, his weaknesses, and his strength. The past was glossed over in the book of life, and a new page was turned on which Edward was to write a new future. He was given a chance to respond to confidence in his ultimate success and was fortified in his efforts to alter his conduct by a greater degree of friendly parental companionship.

The innate traits of the boy were by no means altered by the social adjustments, but they were sublimated to useful activities. The enervating and devastating influences that were bringing out the worst in him were supplanted by constructive, protective, and stimulating social contacts designed to bring out the best in him. The forces for right overcame the forces for evil, and there emerged a useful type of young man, capable of self-support and self-direction, conscious of his social obligations and responsibilities, and willing to establish inhibitions conformative to social law. His physical handicaps were corrected. A larger degree of continuous education was acquired. Truancy was overcome. Theft was rendered unnecessary. Industry took the place of dissipated energies, while desirable social contacts broke up demoralizing companionships. Social shortcomings and inadequacies were antidoted by social readjustments. The environment sought and claimed the best of his heredity and developed it for his benefit and that of the community.

### 48—William

**W**ILLIAM was 15 $\frac{1}{2}$  years old, and he had been stealing, lying, and playing truant.

Physically, there was a marked retardation in development. Though already adolescent, he was more than twenty pounds below the median weight for his age and height. There was considerable caries of the teeth. He



evidenced a marked motor restlessness and some choreiform jerking.

His mental status was indicated by a chronological age of  $15\frac{8}{12}$  years, a mental age of  $13\frac{6}{12}$  years, and an intelligence quotient of 86. He was in the second half of the seventh grade, actually below the levels of his mental age, but his placement appeared to be justified in view of the fact that his achievements in reading, spelling, and arithmetic were definitely low. His learning ability appeared to be retarded, as was his general capacity for making associations, whether free or controlled. The attention was easily distracted, though he possessed a fair degree of reasoning power, and a moderate degree of planfulness. In general, he was more competent to deal with concrete than with abstract material. He was not highly imaginative.

Besides poor nutrition, nervous agitation, and dull mental power, there was a general slow-mindedness impulsiveness, irritability, and sensitiveness. He was rather suggestible, and not particularly resourceful. There was little evidence of the budding idealism common at his age, and his individualistic traits had scarcely been altered towards friendly coöperation. He was somewhat suspicious, defiant, disrespectful, and irreverent, with a definite desire for independence.

Ordinarily these elements might be regarded as sufficient to explain his misbehavior, but one may properly ask, "What are the circumstances that led to these personality characteristics?" Primarily, his difficulty arose from a home situation. He had been outstripped by a brother of only thirteen, who at this time had almost completed the elementary school. This brother, by virtue of his superior mental ability, occupied a favored position in the household. The parents placed more reliance upon him, gave him an allowance, catered to his whims and fancies, and allowed him privileges and opportunities that were denied to the older brother. Thus William had unfortunately come to the conclusion that his parents did not care for him. He saw no reason for respecting them, nor for satisfying their requests. He realized that he was asked to run more errands and to perform more household service than his brother, and although the reason really lay in the brother's

## 278 The Challenge of Childhood

greater undependability, William interpreted these duties as signs of distrust and lack of love. He had become tremendously jealous of his brother. In his words, "Why should I not be jealous? He gets everything he wants. My parents allow him more than they do me." Jealousy had developed hatred.

The lack of an allowance, the jealousy of the brother, and the feeling of the loss of parental affection had combined as definite factors, so that one may understand what he meant when he stated, "I steal to get even with them and everybody"—"I help myself, because only in this way can I get what I want."

Because of his physical weakness and mental dullness, William played with children younger than himself; but such companionships did not satisfy him. The fact that he could not associate as an equal with boys of his own size and age, his suggestibility, and his desire for older boys as companions had led him to be utilized as a tool, and his desire for money had made it possible for him to become an accessory in a number of thieving episodes.

In the neighborhood in which he lived there were no parks, playgrounds, clubs, settlements, or other constructive agencies for improving either his associations or his recreational opportunities. He was anxious to work, but his parents would not permit it, thus thwarting a normal outlet for his energy and blocking his way to securing for himself a weekly allowance through his own industry.

A crisis arose because of a particularly flagrant theft in which William had been a willing accomplice. For a period of more than two years there had been peculations within the home with occasional excursions in the evenings with companions, usually boys physically stronger and mentally more alert than himself. For the first time, however, he had been apprehended, and the family was faced with the embarrassment of a scandal.

Despite the necessity for building up his general physical strength, for removing his decayed teeth, and for relieving him of the nervous tensions contributing to his motor restlessness, far more emphasis had to be placed upon the family attitude towards William. A complete reversal of the former program had to take place in regard to him and his

brother. Effort had to be made to overcome his lack of affection and to impress upon him that he had a worthwhile status in the home. The recognition by the parents of his dull but normal mind gave them a more intelligent understanding of his school failure. Once they understood the limitations of his low potentials they were able to take as much pleasure in his struggles as in the educational progress of the more capable son.

Inasmuch as he evidenced greater ability in the management of concrete material, his school course had to be rearranged, in order to provide more work in manual training; this not merely for its educational and vocational values, but because it involved a greater degree of muscular control, and was more in harmony with his specific interests. It was unlikely that William would go to high school, and yet within a few months he would be ready to leave the elementary grades without having received the special training essential to his later needs.

The attitude of the school required modification, although his principal and teachers deemed his physical ill health solely responsible for his school difficulties. But as a matter of fact, his misapprehensions concerning his parents disturbed him emotionally, and also served to inhibit his effort because he had no real desire to please them. This lack of enthusiasm was aggravated by having his brother constantly presented to him as a model for school endeavors and deportment. His underlying hatreds served to increase his hostility, build up his sense of inferiority, and prejudice him against all school accomplishment.

Probably removal from the home to a more friendly household, in a restful, rural section, with attendance at a country school, might have served to check some of his tendencies. It would, however, have been interpreted by him as merely one more injustice, and a plan to get rid of him. The basic familial situation would not have been overcome, nor would William have had an opportunity for knowing the true state of his parents' feeling towards him.

Hence, it appeared desirable to have him remain at home, so that his ideas concerning favoritism might be overcome by changes in home practice. He would also be protected against future tendencies of the younger brother to dom-

## 280 The Challenge of Childhood

inate him through pride in advanced school standing. A new interpretation was placed upon the part that he was playing in handicapping William's physical slowness and his emotional stability. Quiet reasoning and understanding counsel superseded harsh criticisms and unfriendliness. The father took upon himself a new function—that of a friend. A weekly allowance was immediately made, so that the necessity for funds to meet his needs was gratified. He was encouraged and aided in finding a job, and the mental occupation and the feeling of satisfaction, in addition to the small wage, increased his self-respect and tended to break down his inferiority complex. The opportunities for finding new associates were increased by making contacts with a gymnasium group and with a boys' club. Promptly his old undesirable companions were forsaken.

William was not essentially vicious; in fact his ethical concepts were sound. His untruthfulness had been merely defensive in character, to cover up his thefts, his unhappiness, and his unrecognized limitations. Through these various social approaches, dealing with his home, his school, his companionships, his recreation, and his entrance into industry, there developed a re-establishment of personal activities along lines of conduct that made for good citizenship.

All thieving tendencies have disappeared, and William is regular in school attendance, and is becoming truthful. New habits have developed, financial independence has been achieved, and he has gained the respect of his brother and a knowledge of his rightful share of the love of his parents.

It may be said that both the stealing and the truancy resulted from definite mental conflicts, but certainly not from conflicts whose origins lay in any feature of sex life. When his behavior began to show evidences of a resentful attitude, it was evident that he was on the way toward the development of a type of vindictiveness against society. The beginnings of delinquency are clearly shown in this case, and it was only good fortune that enabled William to escape the Juvenile Court. The elements contributing to his overt misdoings were definitely outside of himself (chorea, following rheumatism, and mental sluggishness). They were,

indeed, circumstances definitely beyond his own control or modification. The physical and mental elements in his constitution were subject to strains and stresses to which he was unable to make adequate adaptation. His maladjustment could be corrected only by attacking the social elements which had overthrown his psychic equilibrium. He was reacting against what appeared to him as the injustice, indifference, and inadequacy of this clumsy world. Relief from such pressure enabled his best inherent qualities to develop normally, and allowed him to live on a plane of honesty, industry, and satisfaction.

#### 49—Walter

WALTER was  $13\frac{1}{2}$  years old. The problem he presented was whether he should leave school and enter industry or not.

The boy had a mental age of  $11\frac{1}{2}$  years and an Intelligence Quotient of 82. He had nearly completed the elementary school. It was evident from the contrast of his mental age and his school grading that the boy had been a studious, industrious pupil. His application was more appreciated in view of the fact that he had not been in excellent health. When first examined he had a chest expansion of only one and a quarter inches, and the x-ray and physical signs disclosed an unresolved pneumonia.

When about thirteen years of age he had had a severe attack of pleurisy, after which he had lost weight until he was twenty pounds under normal. After this illness, his father, though solicitous for his immediate return to school in order that he might be prepared for high school, had been converted to the idea of conserving the boy's health, and he had agreed to allow him a long period of convalescent care.

While Walter was recuperating his father fell ill and was not able to return to his work for a long period of time. He had always been a self-supporting, consistent worker, giving excellent care to his wife and four children. His illness, however, altered the entire home situation and created a definite need for a wage earner in the home or for some form of subsidy from the outside.

## 282 The Challenge of Childhood

When Walter returned after convalescent care, he was anxious to take upon himself the rôle of a wage earner in order to assist the family. At this time he weighed 117 pounds and was five feet, six inches tall, and he was still evidencing the rapid growth of adolescence. He lacked, however, a few months of the age requisite for the issuance of working papers, although he had reached the necessary school grade.

He became depressed, unhappy, and seriously anxious regarding the home situation and his own responsibility for relieving it. His physical status was complicated by reason of a clash between economic pressure and educational law. The family needed him, and the school demanded him.

It is patently undesirable to exploit childhood in order to relieve a familial situation. Child labor is an abomination. This boy, however, had been absent from school because of illness. He was dislocated from his grade, and because of the home situation he was unable to devote his mind to study. Moreover, he was within two months of the end of his school life, when his working papers would be available. It might be said that the two months demanded by the school would be of some slight advantage on the theory that every day of additional schooling represents an economic investment, with heightened community returns in after years. On the other hand, the family was in danger of becoming a dependent household, and as a result of his mental conflict, Walter was wasting his time in school. Moreover, his physical condition was sure to be handicapped by the development of anxiety and through the lowered dietary standards consequent upon decreased income.

The careful mother, even with intelligent use of her small remaining capital, was drawing to the end of her financial resources, and the father realized the deterioration of the home standards. The adolescent youth, with a burst of enthusiasm for the assumption of manly duties, was conscious of an obligation to become a participant in increasing the regular family funds.

Evidently a social situation was bound up in Walter's welfare. Excellent institutions,—hospitals and convalescent homes,—had given him renewed health, and the same



institutions were prepared to serve the father in his illness. The father believed in education and was anxious that his son proceed to high school, but the economic urge in the family was serving as a check to his ambition, although at no time did he request the boy to seek employment.

With his intelligence quotient at 82, it seemed unlikely that Walter would succeed in high school, without a far greater vitality and industry than that possessed by most boys. Consequently, the main question arising was whether there was a distinct advantage in having the boy remain at school for the two extra months, or to cast about for a special occupation that would tend to build up his physical health while engaged in it. As mental symptoms were beginning to develop on the basis of the economic-social maladjustment, it seemed advisable to secure his relief from school attendance upon a medical certificate. By means of this he was able to spend some time in the air, and to get in touch with a position which was neither arduous in type nor demanding a long day.

The immediate contact with practical wage-earning life altered Walter's depressed state and stimulated his feeling of confidence and filial obligations. His initial wage, combined with the occasional earnings of the parents, sufficed to tide over the family financial crisis. At the end of the two months' period, his regular school discharge was obtained, and he continued at his light job. That the working period was not deleterious to his physical growth was patent in his gain of eight pounds in weight and two inches in height within the first eight months following his employment.

No one would deny the importance and necessity of educational laws. Nor would one venture to attack mandatory school regulations requiring school attendance until the age of fourteen, or eighteen years. Childhood demands the highest form of protection against exploitation. Economic reasons alone should not be urged for the violation of mandatory law, although they must frequently be accepted as an excuse for entering industry at the earliest opportunity. Occasionally there arises the necessity for balancing the purpose of the law with the particular needs of an individual. It is no violation of the law to keep a child out

## 284 The Challenge of Childhood

of school because of illness, and school systems often refuse children above the age of six years, when mandatory attendance begins, if the mental age is too low to permit them to grasp the fundamentals. If work becomes, in a sense, a form of occupational therapy, the job is of greater importance to the welfare of the child than either the school attendance or the possible information that might be secured at school. This is not a spurious argument designed to excuse the circumvention of educational laws. It recognizes merely that there are times when a job may contribute more to the health of a child than the school.

In this particular instance the basis of the vocational contact lay not in the pleadings of the family, nor in the demand for the boy's financial assistance, but in the real evidence of mental symptoms indicative of a breaking morale, which might be prejudicial to his continued resistance to the efforts of the unresolved pneumonia.

As a matter of fact, the solution of the problem through the social channel proved adequate. The adolescent character took on all the elements of manliness, confidence, and cheerfulness, with a marked growth of sanguine temperament. Walter's inherent dull-normal abilities responded to the utmost, and his interest, enthusiasm, and feeling of familial response became manifest in his posture, appearance, and general well-being. In his physical life he responded admirably, and the standards of health and vitality were raised not because of his earning from twelve to fifteen dollars a week, but through his becoming a truly responsible social being instead of a dependent, sickly boy in a potentially dependent household.

### 50—Elizabeth

**E**LIZABETH was a serious-minded adolescent, with depressed mood and thoughts of suicide.

Physically, this young woman was normally developed and free from evidences of gross disease save a slight lameness following a tuberculous hip. The limping was not marked, and there was comparatively little impairment of function.

Her intellectual capacities were of a high order and she

was successfully undertaking collegiate work, in which she was definitely interested.

Emotionally, she was in a state of distress. She was distinctly unhappy, forlorn, lonesome, moody, sensitive, oppressed with the idea of her own inferiority, self-conscious of her infirmity, and seeing the future loom as a time of darkness and failure. There was no hatred of the world, nor a belief that the world was against her. She was aware of her personality limitations and had concluded that disagreeable, unpleasant reactions constituted a difficulty that would make social success impossible. She was a burden to herself, and she regarded suicide as a rational refuge for relief from unhappiness and failure. An appreciation of the conditions leading to this state of mind was an essential preliminary to its sublimation.

Elizabeth was the eighth in a family of nine children. Her parents were peasants who had tempted fate by emigrating with their first four children. The father established a small home in this country, in which the last five children were born. He was employed in a room, ill ventilated and dusty, and his work was with rags. His hours were long, and his wages were small. His meager income scarcely sufficed to provide the necessities of life, but he maintained his self-respect and sought aid from no one until tuberculosis weakened him and he became unable to earn sufficient to support his family. His wife, with the oldest daughter and son, tried to earn enough to keep them all alive. The father, who had to be at home, cared for the younger children, so the mother had an opportunity to work at a regular job. The natural consequences of such an arrangement were the infecting of the mother, one sister, and one brother with pulmonary tuberculosis, the death of the youngest child from tuberculous meningitis, and minor tuberculous infections of the other children, including Elizabeth. Then the father died, and a year later the mother followed. The orphan children were temporarily cared for by relatives.

Elizabeth, at the age of eight years, because of her tuberculous hip, was removed to a hospital where she remained until she was sufficiently well to be sent away to a

## 286 The Challenge of Childhood

convalescent home. Finally, she was transferred to an institution caring for orphans.

Elizabeth's original plight was the result of industrial conditions during the period antedating any special efforts by the State towards industrial hygiene. Long hours; low wages, and faulty occupational environment were responsible for the initial infection which became a family blight.

For a time the socially destructive elements were counteracted by constructive forces,—as represented by hospitals, doctors, nurses, open air classes, and convalescent homes,—as a result of which the damage begun through economic distress and industrial pressure was checked. If at this time Elizabeth had been placed in a private home, much of her later difficulty would have been obviated. She was transferred, however, to an orphan asylum. Regardless of the tremendous service that institutions of this type perform, there is a large proportion of orphans who fail to live successfully through many years of institutional control. The institution kept Elizabeth alive and gave her schooling in an unnatural world. It provided food, shelter, clothing, and medical care, but it did not supply a home. She had been happy in her home, with the personal touch of the parents and the opportunities for normal expression in a large family of children. Her impressions of illness were coupled with residual sympathies; the cruelties of tuberculosis in her home had left a mark, deepened by the loss of the home itself, and she felt herself more or less isolated from natural fonts of affection. Her experience in reconstructive institutions had not been sufficient to overcome her attitude towards family life. The period of years involved in her restoration to health reached into the beginnings of adolescence and provoked serious thought concerning her place in the world, her handicaps, and her losses, for which she could see no compensating brightness or cheer. The word "orphan" to her spelt isolation.

Many years in a well organized, splendidly administered institution did not suffice to direct Elizabeth's thinking to the outer world. She was obedient, readily controlled, but easily moved to tears, and she resented what she regarded as the unfair methods of those in charge with the other children. She felt that if these children had had homes

they would have escaped much unnecessary suffering. Her sympathies began to expand towards them, but always with a rebound against her own particular situation. She became depressed, moody, at times somewhat sullen, but never rebellious. She accepted the inevitability of repression and surrendered her reason to her emotional agitation, and particularly to her self-pity. Gradually, there arose an idea of her own inferiority, her incapacity to compete in the great world, and the belief in a predestined failure in life. With this came a decline of interest in her work and her surroundings, a loss of her sense of humor, an unwillingness to seek companionship, and a tendency to be seclusive save when the authorities demanded coöperation with the groups. The only solution to her problem that she could see was suicide.

Elizabeth's inner thinking was not known, even though she remarked frequently that she wished she were not alive and, upon occasion, referred to her way out. But despite her talk of self-destruction she really wanted to live, provided a satisfactory solution could be found to her difficulty. Her emotional outlets were self-blocked, and they required reopening. Her ambitions were not definite and they required crystallization. Her interests outside of herself had resisted stimulation, and they had to be awakened. Her craving for affection, and most particularly for a home, had to be satisfied. Her institutional dependence required the substitution of independent self-direction. The psychopathic trends must be checked.

Just as the psychosis potentials had arisen from social forces,—the economic causes of her tuberculosis, and hospitalization, and later institutional control,—the relief had to be secured through a social reorganization of her life. Here was no problem of physical well-being, save in so far as Elizabeth might require protection against a return of her tuberculous infection. An intellectual approach, despite her superior mental capacity, would be ineffectual because reason had been supplanted by her emotions. To attack her emotions directly was impossible because they lacked equilibrium, and yet there was great need for mental hygiene to obviate a possible psychosis or even an impulsive catastrophe. A social approach, as the major one, appeared



## 288 The Challenge of Childhood

essential because the foundation of her distress lay in her homelessness.

Elizabeth remembered her own home; she had visited other homes, but they were not hers. She had lived with many children without homes. She had been at school with children who had homes. She recognized the values in a home that cannot be given in any institution, even though administered on a cottage plan. She was sensitive to her own particular dislocation from a center of normal family life. The first step, therefore, involved Elizabeth's release from institutional regulations and her placement in a private home.

The second step demanded an opportunity to be partially self-supporting during the period of collegiate training, and this presented no difficulty. It was necessary to point out her intellectual power as above that of the mass, by comparing her achievements with those of average persons of her age with whom she was familiar. It was a simple matter to indicate the social and economic worth of her mind when properly trained, and to point out the ways in which she might take her place in communal living. Her adjustments were not difficult to secure. A sense of growing independence developed, and a feeling of gratitude for communal care began to efface the ideas of personal loss. The courage of the commonplace again began to stimulate her. Slowly her sense of humor was re-established, and a more joyous attitude fought down her depressions. Her individualistic pity was merged in a wider sympathy for all people. Her potentials, as one who might better serve others by reason of her experiences in suffering, aroused new ambitions and created a goal worth striving for. Her desire for death was relegated to a subordinate place in her thinking. She began to see more than herself alone in the world; she saw that the difficulty had been her loneliness, *despite* the world. She had found another way out.

Many institutions seem to be needed for the care and guidance of children, but a large proportion of children are accepted by them who might more wisely and humanely be rejected. Institutional life at its best is a poor substitute for a home. The ideal system of abolishing orphan asylums has not gained the foothold in this country that it has,



for example, in Australia. In considering the problems of childhood, the institution should be the place of last resort, whether interest center about homes for orphans, half-orphans, mental defectives, or so-called incorrigibles. Necessity or emergency should be the controlling factor, and temporary segregation should be employed wherever possible rather than permanent commitment. With the increasing interest and effort towards the proper placement of children in private homes, a larger degree of attention might well be given to the care of orphans outside of institutions. The actual cost to the community for this form of child care is less than that involved in organized institutional administration. There is a definite residuum of children for whom institutions must be provided, but to-day the large orphan asylum is an evidence of weakness of social viewpoint, rather than an exhibition of strength of social policy or of modern philanthropy.

While no institution can adequately supply those social factors of which the home is the best disseminator, it must be borne in mind that the home itself varies greatly in the quality of its influence. In the preceding pages some light has been thrown upon the ill effects of the home whose atmosphere is vitiated by immoral, incompetent, or inadequate parents. Indeed, it is no exaggeration to say that the quality of the home depends almost entirely upon the quality of the parenthood which gives the home its essential color and form. Therefore, it is perhaps not out of place to discuss briefly the essential nature of parenthood.

Admittedly there is a distinction between intelligent and ignorant parents, but this is not founded upon economic grouping or social satisfaction. The primary conception of parenthood is rarely discussed, and this, perchance, may suffice as a reason for dilating upon its nature and meaning. There are many evidences that ideas concerning parenthood are somewhat vague. Possibly it is more truthful to say that they are in a state of transition. It is insufficient to state that parenthood is the result of procreation of a child. This is a biologic fact, but it contains only a limited biologic conception of function.

Parents are the biologic intermediaries between their ascendants and their descendants. They are the transmit-

## 290 The Challenge of Childhood

ters of the familial inheritances of two strains of protoplasm. Such an idea conveys a larger concept of the responsibility of parenthood than the simple, definite fact of actual participation in creation. The offspring is immediately the child of his parents, but the child has received through the medium of his parents numerous traits and trends whose origins are antecedent to parental existence. Thus, parents may be regarded as biologic agencies that have received and pass on, in strange but orderly fashion, the potentialities of the race.

The culmination of the sexual life in a new being represents, therefore, the creation of parenthood. The child contains the unknown potentials of two blends of germ plasm united in a single organism. Parenthood thus may be regarded as created through the birth of an infant, regardless of the varied responsibilities ordinarily recognized as involved in its future development. The physiologic, psychologic, and social influences of pregnancy unite to set into action a series of ideas and ideals that are at times termed the parental instinct. This involves a decentralization of thought from the two mates to the object of their common interest. The finer elements of thought and action become diverted from the special partners in marriage to the larger world that centers about the product of conception. The instincts, however, do not suffice to provide adequate care for the helpless infant, and intelligent thought must call for aid to foster its evolution to satisfactory childhood and maturity. Thus arises the foresight in making ready for the child, the oversight during the pregnancy of the potential mother, and the laying of plans for the purely physical and environmental reception of the child. During this period the male's functions are decidedly limited. He has been a biologic accessory and plays a secondary part during pregnancy, save in so far as his efforts and sympathetic support may help shape the maternal environment in which his offspring flourishes. The influences which he radiates are helpful or otherwise, in so far as they affect the well-being of the child-bearing woman, who alone is responsible for the ante-natal nutrition of his child. His inheritable elements for physical and mental substances and form were transmitted at the time of conception.

With birth, the more valuable parental traits assume a vital alteration. Parenthood is actually established after months of preparation. The emotions undergo numerous variations incident to the readjustments of life that are requisite for the inauguration of family life. The biologic phase of development has been given its last chance. The man of the morrow is hidden in the child of to-day. His future potentials are latent and will be discovered and revealed under auspices that are not essentially biologic, save in the sense that nurture gives opportunity for many types and variations in development. It is patent that the parental function must now change. Originally merely the creator of a being, he now becomes the possessor of a dynamic mortal and is deemed responsible for its future growth and the development up to the limits of its inherited potentials. Unfortunately there is no measure of ultimate results in early life, nor is prophecy of value. And still the future depends largely upon parental action.

Inasmuch as the child is part of the race and contains a molecule of its immortal substance, parents have a dual responsibility in child nurture. The desire that children may be a credit to their parents is normal and meritorious. It is equally true that their destinies are so interwoven with that of future times and generations as to make their development under parental guidance of interest and importance to all the existent population. The possibilities of a Kant, a Galileo, a Chopin, a Whitman, a Lister, a Koch, a Disraeli, a Nero, a Borgia, a Jesse James, or a William Hohenzollern transcend parental interest.

Parents are virtually the social trustees of their children. For their use, numerous social instruments are available for the more complete and harmonious expression of the personalities they foster. In this social trusteeship lies the problematic fulfillment of the anticipated promises of the inherited potentials. Herein is the social "to be or not to be."

Child nurture becomes necessarily a parental obligation to the community. This duty may be unrealized or misinterpreted thoughtlessly as a selfish pursuit for parental pleasure. In reality it is an ennobling responsibility for promoting human welfare. The intelligent parent recog-

## 292 The Challenge of Childhood

nizes that the highest evidence of affection and interest may be manifest in subordinating self to the communal requirements for independent, intelligent, social-minded citizenship as reflected in conduct.

The progenitors become the cultivators of childhood. They yield their stock and try to perfect it. Through both of these functions, the human race is affected for better or for worse. The parents are more than admirers of their children and ardent advocates of their strength, beauty, intelligence, and skill. In their young they see reflections of themselves,—what they were and are, or what they were not and are not, or what they would wish to be, or what they feared or dreaded to be. They become, by reason of this, unconsciously subject to varying attitudes toward their children. Their solicitude, personal attributes, early training, education, character, and special and general interests complicate their problems and frequently endanger their serviceability as social trustees. Part of this difficulty is met through the interaction of many factors beyond parental control, although capable of moderate variations through parental guidance. The influences of friends, playmates, schools, reading, religion, teachers, and physicians aid in the determination of the directions and forms in which the fundamental instincts evolve, emotions converge and diverge, and sentiments point.

While theoretically parents are to be held accountable for the physical, mental, and moral welfare of their children, it must not be forgotten that the biological inheritances of their young are only partially of true parental origin. The familial traits, too, are written in each book of life. The influences that are to determine health, culture, usefulness, and character emanate from many sources beyond parents and the home. Whence it is obvious that parents are aided and limited in their powers to direct and control childhood. Failure or success may attend the efforts of all types of parents—the careless or the conscientious—the kind or the brutal—the cultured or the ignorant. This fact should not serve as an excuse for failure, nor as a source of pride in success. The vital fact lies in the degree of purposeful effort that is made by parents to give their children the maximum opportunities for effective develop-

ment. Heredity and environment are co-workers in developing personality. They may work in harmony or in opposition, but they cannot be dissociated as constant forces.

There is a qualitative and a quantitative side to parenthood. • One may be a good parent in providing food, clothing, and shelter, and be unsatisfactory as a guide to self-control. Another may be inadequate in supplying the physical necessities of life, but he may more than atone for it by reason of the finer spiritual qualities that are radiated. Still others may have intermittent action in influencing their offspring, or they may vary greatly in their depth of feeling and intensity of affection, interest, and care. Parenthood is not ownership, nor is it founded on the right to dominate child life, or to expect gratitude.

A parent should appreciate the necessity for gaining the knowledge required for the performance of his duties. There should be efforts at understanding infancy, childhood, and adolescence. I have used the masculine pronoun advisedly, as there is too great a tendency to disregard the male parent. His duties and responsibilities are as important for the nurture of his child as they are for his biologic characteristics and essential traits. The parents are male and female; and fatherhood and motherhood deserve equal recognition in the matter of child training. For too many years this has been relegated without question to mothers, even though State laws continue to give fathers more responsibilities and privileges.

It is most regrettable that there is little training for parenthood, so that most parents become such without any preparation, and the only wonder is that they succeed as well as they do. The great measure of friction between parents and children attests the prevalence of parental problems. It is not difficult to appreciate the attitude of children toward their parents. They have no hesitancy in expressing their feelings and thoughts. Occasionally one of them asks the pointed question, "Why must we have parents?" The answer is as cold as it is deliberate; but, let it be admitted, biology is the main reason.

Parents serve to link the past to the future, but they are conscious only of a vague hope for the future satisfaction of the affections which their service to the children may



## 294 The Challenge of Childhood

develop. Children may succeed in making life's necessary adjustments by reason of the thought, guidance, and coöperation of their parents. This becomes most likely when social trusteeship is recognized as the natural consequence and essence of intelligent parenthood. However, such an attitude will not exist unless society instills the idea through the educational direction of parents, and more adequate legislative practice in behalf of the children.



## Conclusion

**B**IOLOGY is the science of living matter. The child is a biological unit. Frequently a human being is called a psycho-biological unit, but this should not imply that the psyche is non-biologic. The mind and the body are not separate entities, but merely different manifestations of life which are inseparable. To think of the mind apart from the body is to revert to those primitive conceptions of body, mind, and soul, which gave rise to Shamanism. The mind is merely a mechanism by which an individual secures adjustment to his environment, and by means of which he responds to internal and external stimuli. The degree of his adjustability is determined by a variety of factors. For purposes of discussing child biology one may analyze his structure or his functions, and their interrelations.

Ordinarily anatomy, physiology, and pathology are regarded as physical expressions of being; whereas instincts, emotions, and will,—or, as termed by others, cognition, affect, and conation,—are called psychological manifestations. They are all, however, thoroughly combined and associated in each individual unit of life. If a child were spontaneously generated as a unit and lived and died in isolation, he would lack a phase of his nature which actually exists because he is a unit of a larger group. Hence, in his biological relations he possesses social characteristics; but these in turn are thoroughly incorporated in his being so as to function as part of the whole unit.

With this combination, it is evident that the anatomy and physiology of a child influence the expression of his instincts and the evolution of his emotions. His psychology and pathology profoundly affect his will. Anatomic anomalies may interfere with social development. Dominating instincts may hamper social adequacy. Social experiences may stimulate or check physiological activity. Social expansion or contraction may release or check emotional activity.

## 296 The Challenge of Childhood

During the whole of life these manifold interacting elements are constantly at work.

The social characteristics of an individual are not to be regarded as a single phase of personality with simple patterns. There are marked variations dependent upon size, nature, sex, convictions, interests, and the force of the groups in which participation occurs. The social personality of a business man in his office, at home, or as a Sunday school teacher are no more varied than those of his boy in the classroom, on the baseball field, or at work. Biologically then, the child possesses an indefinite reactivity to other units and to groups of units differing in activity, consciousness, and pressure.

The viewpoint I have aimed to project involves the integration of the physical, mental, emotional, and social factors into a unitary being, rather than their separate consideration as wholly independent elements, as ordinarily understood. It is a conception of the child as if he were a molecule with the characteristics conferred by the combination of its component atoms. Carbon, hydrogen, oxygen, nitrogen, and sulphur have definite characteristics of their own, but when they are combined in varying proportions they create a multitude of substances differing markedly in their physical and chemical structures, in their usefulness, and their behavior. The molecule may be analyzed so as to determine its structure and main atomic bonds. It may be altered by interaction with other molecules. Its essential nature is the result of peculiarities of atomic combinations.

While the analogy is not complete, because the child-molecule cannot be broken down into its basic atoms, it holds true sufficiently to point out the necessity for studying the independent elements, particularly of children who possess difficulties in adjustment. Hence, in order that behavior may be modified, it is requisite to note as many qualitative factors as possible and to gain an idea of their relative weight and character. It is important, therefore, to observe the factors of strength and of weakness, and the ties that unite them. To secure molecular rearrangement requires the determination of the underlying facts and circumstances, as revealed by examination and inquiry,

rather than a dependence upon blind judgments and unsupported guesses.

Conduct is a result as well as a symptom. It represents the end product of a vast series of forces bound up in heredity and environment. It is the outward expression of the effort of a personality to secure adjustment. Conduct is a continuous expression of energy in response to stimuli. It is action, even if in an inhibited form. In interpreting conduct one must recognize that the mysteries of behavior are largely those of protoplasm. It is difficult to predict, or even completely to understand, the physical and chemical properties of simply organized protoplasm. In its larger combination into organic structure it increases in complexity even as it varies in characteristics. And the problem of child adjustment demands that this life stuff be utilized, affected, and stimulated, so as to make the most of it, even though there be ignorance concerning its latent power of development.

The raw materials of childhood are not identical. The machinery, the tools, and the methods of fashioning character vary greatly. The technic of those serving as character workmen differs considerably. Hence, it is apparent that at different ages children may reveal marked crudities of fashioning, even though, after the course of time, the same children, as partial end-results, may reveal a superficial similarity. The aim of the adults in charge to secure uniform conduct appears to be successful in a large majority of cases. Uniformity is never attained—no two children are exactly alike.

The child develops a personality out of the internal and external states that condition him. His personality arises out of the interplay of centripetal and centrifugal currents of life. It is moulded by the tangible and intangible forces within him and without. It expands and contracts under the influence of conscious and unconscious impressions. It is stimulated and depressed by motives and feelings engendered through purposeful or subconscious activity. His personality is the essence of his being.

The child too frequently appears to be merely a plaything, a sport of circumstances, and he is subjected to rules,

## 298 The Challenge of Childhood

regulations, and contacts, imposed by authority in accordance with the belief that principles of conduct are unchangeable. Most of the problems of childhood are reactions of adjustment. The evolution of character is a gradual process. Intelligent direction is essential, but guidance must be founded on reason. Hence, the efforts at understanding involve the latent potentials of the child, the influences arising from the past, and the characteristics of the future for which special adaptations may be required.

In the application of scientific methods, there is greater likelihood of success through the recognition of absolute and relative values. Ideals present numerous elements of the absolute, and steps towards their attainment are only of relative worth. There is a vast difference between abstract and concrete measurements. Many of the main traits of character are too abstract to be measured, and personal judgments establish their existence in relative terms. Any individual judgment is determined on the basis of one's measure of the relative importance of any trait. Adult standards too frequently are utilized for measuring youthful attainments, whereas the basis of judgment should be the comparison of the particular child with other children of approximately the same age and living conditions. Inherent differences in families and environments suggest the importance of these relative measurements. The cold principles and facts of science call for interpretation. Merely to know that a child is partially deaf does not suffice. The incomplete hearing must be interpreted in terms of its effects upon the child's growing personality, upon his educability, his resourcefulness, his vocational adaptability, and his social expansion. To know an I. Q. as a revealed fact is inadequate without an interpretation of its meaning in and for the life of the particular child. Recognition of emotional instability is insufficient without an interpretation of its possible origin, alterability, and possible effect upon the individual child. Interpretation, then, is the paramount obligation if we are to make rational use of scientific facts concerning any specific child.

Investigation and study are the natural means of gaining an insight into the internal factors and external circum-

stances that affect conduct. This is a pre-requisite to grasping the significance, the nature, and the mode of solution of juvenile problems. Admittedly our knowledge is yet exceedingly limited. We are still more or less baffled by the origin of mental deficiency as well as that of the neuroses and psychoses. We lack sufficient information concerning the actual mechanisms of emotional expression. We are uncertain of the ways in which stimulation and inhibition are effected. We do not know the why or the wherefore of pathological lying, or even of all the factors entering into indolence. We do not possess more than a rudimentary knowledge concerning a large number of specific traits and attitudes that characterize juvenile behavior. Nevertheless, the responsibility looms large to search for every fact that may be interpreted so as to cast light upon the problems of childhood. There is a challenge in Tredgold's statement that: "The environment of to-day is the heredity of to-morrow."

The child possesses the right to life, in and through activity. This means that he is entitled to a free development in tune with his own vibrant instrument, and as one who must learn to play in harmony with the social orchestra. The social orchestra, under different conductors, plays folk songs and jazz, nocturnes and symphonies, dirges and dances. All children are not born musicians; some can appreciate but are unable to perform. Others possess average appreciation and average technic. Still others make efforts to play, but lack success. And there are a few who do not like the music of the social orchestra, but desire to play alone for their own personal satisfaction.

A Kaffir cannot always distinguish between his self and his shadow. Less primitive adults unconsciously seek to identify the virtues of their children as reflections of themselves, but they are less likely to make a similar correlation with the faults of their children. Each generation creates its own problems, although the essential, underlying principles of childhood are reasonably stable. In order to appraise children's reactions, we must know the stimuli to which they are exposed, and their responses to the same. There have been recurrent fears for each younger generation, although possibly never more marked than at present.

## 300 The Challenge of Childhood

The children of to-day are subjected to stimuli which, in variety, speed, and intensity, were not known in the childhood of their parents.

To-day, problems of conduct are peculiar only to the extent that the world has been newly transformed for adults as well as for children. There are a vast number of liberated ideas which are in process of digestion and assimilation, and some social dyspepsia exists. Adult attitudes towards marriage, home-making, religion, and observance of law are in a state of transition. New theories of liberty and freedom in education, and the penetration of psychology theories, involving a stress upon the hazards of repression, have altered methods of child guidance. The effort to equalize opportunities for men and women, woman suffrage, and the development of athletics and other recreations for girls have created a greater freedom and expansibility in the lives of adolescent girls. Urbanization and industrialization, fast moving automobiles, too lurid moving pictures, electric lights, and telephones have built a world for childhood and adults which neither fully understands. The prolongation of mandatory school life, the increased numbers of students in high schools and colleges, and the wider distribution of newspapers, magazines, and books have raised intellectual standards, and youth is more inclined to think for itself instead of blindly accepting authority from above. As a result of the war, we have world disorganization, profiteering, and disillusionment, which, with the Volstead Act and jazz, have disrupted public opinion. Individual judgment is weakened through the crumbling of definite standards.

Collective thinking and feeling have not been focused upon the way out because they have been too intent upon grasping the changed conditions themselves. Hence the conduct of children looms large when attention is directed to the implications of an increasing youth movement.

Some dwell upon the iniquities of youth, while others see only their virtues, failing to appreciate the relation of both to the world in which youth finds itself to-day.

There is no need for pessimism. While our adolescents are more familiar with life than were the children of earlier



generations, their freedom in the discussion of topics previously held taboo by society makes such subjects less mysterious and, so, less harmful. Furthermore, the earlier social development of our boys and girls makes them more valuable through their eagerness for responsibility, independence, and service.

After all, the rolling hoop of conduct is a living hoop, made of parents and children clinging each to the other, and propelled by social forces. The direction of any hoop along life's course is governed by the relative position of parent to child, and by the force, intensity, and duration of the pressure from without.

When parents and teachers appreciate the general principles of child development, and then apply them intelligently to the individual child, remembering as much as possible of their own early lives and their reactions during that period, then will the faith on which all child culture must be founded, be justified; then will we have left this clumsy world a better place for children than we found it.

I have endeavored to show that children are treated fairly only when there is a definite effort to understand their natures and their trends, inherited and acquired. I have sought to show that their problems must be analyzed so that a re-synthesis will provide a greater likelihood of their adjustment, enabling them to achieve happiness and the maximum satisfaction through activity—the essence of life. Each must live as an individual, with a unit personality, and also as a unit in his many loosely-bound social groups. Each must learn his own potentials as well as his own limitations in order to face squarely the triumphs and disasters of daily living. And with an appreciation of his social limitations, as well as his social potentials, each becomes more capable of functioning. E. H. Southard summarized his ideas regarding the fundamentals of individual conduct in a striking sentence: "What a man wills to do, modified by what he can't do, is what he ought to do."

Finally, the variant child should not be viewed as *the* problem. But his behavior should be regarded as the compound of those life forces which more truly constitute the problem. The solution of the difficulties of each child involves an attempted adjustment of these living elements,

## 302 The Challenge of Childhood

which for practical purposes of discussion have been classified as physical, mental, emotional, and social problems. The end and aim is to seize upon the unitary personality of the child, guiding, influencing, and assisting him to secure physical, mental, emotional, and social health—that is, to attain a mastery of the art of living.

Veritably the child is a creature of the present being moulded by the past to live in the future.

THE END

# Index

- ADOLESCENCE, 98, 100, 104, 112, Custodial Care, 137  
     164ff, 226  
 Adoption, 255, 257ff  
 Age—*anatomic*, 99  
     *basal*, 77  
     *chronological*, 75  
     *mental*, 75  
     *pedagogic*, 99  
     • *physiologic*, 99  
     *social*, 99  
 Ambidexterity, 132  
 Anger, 203  
 Appetite, *lack of*, 47  
 Attitude, *mental*, 72  
  
 BEHAVIORISM, 162  
 Big Sister, 229, 267  
 Blindness, 69, 196  
 Breast Feeding, 54  
  
 CALORIES, 55  
 Carelessness, 119, 122  
 Caries, 59  
 Character, 297  
 Childhood, 191, 207  
 Child Placement, 246  
 Chorea, 34, 74, 193  
 Classes, *Special*—  
     *cardiac*, 35  
     *nutrition*, 52  
     *posture*, 44  
     *rapid advancement*, 142  
     *sight conservation*, 65  
     *ungraded*, 99, 147  
 Cod Liver Oil, 55  
 College Age, 99, 143  
 Companionships, 8, 255  
 Complexes, 161  
 Concentration, 93, 129  
 Conduct, 154, 297  
 Corporal Punishment, 200, 260  
 Cretinism, 24  
 Curriculum, 92  
 Curriculum, *enriching the*, 147  
  
 DALTON PLAN, 123  
 Day Nurseries, 55  
 Deafness, 19, 23, 70, 77  
 Delinquency, 20, 40, 107, 280  
 Dementia Precox, 190, 256  
 Dentition, 43, 58  
 Depression, 284  
 Divorce, 268ff  
 Dunfermline Scale, 50  
 Dwarfism, 211  
  
 EDUCATION, 79, 108, 136, 145, 153ff,  
     191  
 Educational Laws, 283  
 Emotions, 69, 74, 151ff  
 Emotional Instability, 176  
 Employment, 106, 281  
 Encephalitis, 163, 170  
 Endocrines, 23, 26, 174  
 Enuresis, 27, 30ff, 184  
  
 FAMILY AND HOME INFLUENCE, 7, 192-  
     196, 204, 219, 222, 238, 241, 249,  
     262, 274, 277  
 Fears, 156, 212  
 Feeble-mindedness, 76, 86, 90  
 "Flappers", 234  
 Flat Feet, 19, 103  
 Food Requirements, 47, 55  
 Foster Parents, 244, 251  
 Fracture of Skull, 115, 121  
 Freud, 160  
  
 GANGS, 214, 272  
 "Genius," 145  
 Goodness, 201  
  
 HABITS, *formation of*, 28  
 Habit Spasms (*tics*), 109  
 Hatred, 218  
 Headaches, 185ff  
 Health, *definition of*, 5, 17, 20, 52

- Health, *essentials of*, 45  
 Hearing, 103  
 Heart Disease, 33, 209  
 Height and Weight Scales, 50  
 Hemiplegia, *re-education in*, 123  
 Hemianopsia, 114ff  
 Herd Instinct, 160  
 Heredity, 72, 154, 165, 242, 253  
 Homeless Child and Childless  
   Home, 247, 254ff  
  
 IMBECILITY, 22  
 Immorality, 137  
 Inferiority, 190, 216, 255, 262, 267  
 Initiative, 204  
 Intelligence, *nature of*, 69ff 165  
 Intelligence, *borderline*, 76, 84, 88, 175  
 Intelligence Quotient, 75ff, 249, 298  
 Intelligence Tests, 42, 73  
 Instincts, 69, 153ff  
 Institutional Care, 208, 243, 249, 267, 282, 286ff  
 Irritability, 97  
  
 JEALOUSY, 261, 278  
 Juvenile Court, 107  
  
 LAZINESS, 164-173ff, 249  
 Left Handedness, 125, 130  
 Lying, 197, 208, 255, 271, 276  
  
 MALNUTRITION, 43, 48ff  
 Masturbation, 31, 215ff, 243, 274  
 Medical Inspection, 18, 248  
 Mental Conflicts, 161, 196, 221  
 Mental Defectives and *enuresis*, 29 134  
 Mental Hygiene, 112  
 Milk, 56  
 Minerals in Foods, 57  
 Mirror Reading, 118  
 Mirror Writing, 127, 130  
 Mongolism, 22  
 Montessori, 24  
 Morals, 165  
 Moron, 76, 92, 134  
 Motives, 158  
 Movies, 191, 217, 240  
 Myopia, 63ff  
  
 NAIL BITING, 31, 192  
  
 Neighborhood influence, 8  
 Nervousness, 112  
 Neurosis, 109, 215  
 Nutrition, 49, 51  
  
 OBEDIENCE, 189, 199, 202, 208, 244  
 Operations, 61  
 Orphan Asylums, 288  
  
 PARENTAL GUIDANCE, 208, 223ff  
 Parenthood, 289ff  
 Part Time Schooling, 273  
 Pensions, Mothers', 264  
 Personality, 89, 162, 165, 167, 296  
 Phantasy, 177  
 Physical Defects, 16, 18  
 Physical Examinations, Complete Annual, 36  
 Posture, 43, 62  
 Prostitution, 219  
 Protein Food, 56  
 Punishment, 202, 260  
  
 RECREATIONAL FACILITIES, 274  
 Rickets, 53ff  
 Runaway, 241, 248, 249  
  
 SCHOOL FAILURES, 140  
 School Grading, 139  
 Scurvy, 57  
 Secondary Education, 143  
 Segregation of Defectives, 137  
 Selfishness, 195  
 Sex Education, 216ff  
 Shut-in Personality, 189  
 Sin 217  
 Sinistrality 94, 127, 130ff  
 Sleep Disorders, 182  
 Socialized Conduct, 154, 195, 206  
 Social Influences, 9, 235ff  
 Social Prevention, 235  
 Social Worker, 235  
 Speech Defects, 23, 32, 37ff, 126  
 Spoiled Child, 183ff  
 Stealing, 208, 249, 255, 271, 276  
 Strabismus, 110  
 Stutterers, 37, 127  
 St. Vitus' Dance, 34, 110  
 Subconscious Mind, 161  
 Suggestion, 30, 183, 198  
 Suicide, 220, 284

# Index

305

- Superior Intelligence, 141, 145ff
- Syphilis, 43
- TANTRUM, 200
- Teaching, *individualized*, 140
- Teeth—*caries*, 59
  - development of*, 58
- Temper, 73, 199, 240, 263
- Tests—*Achievement*, 77
  - Binet-Simon*, 73
  - Group*, 76
  - Pintner-Paterson*, 77
  - Porteus*, 77
  - Stenquist*, 84
  - Terman*, 75
- Thumb Sucking, 31
- Thyroid Gland, 25
- Timidity, 259
- Tonsils, 19; *removal of*, 20
- Tonsillitis, 34
- Truancy, 103, 271, 276
- Tuberculosis, 43, 63
- UNDERNOURISHMENT, 46
- Underweight, 49
- Unitary Being, 296
- VALUES of I. Q., 76
- Vision, 101
- Visiting Teacher, 106, 107
- Vitamins, 55, 57ff
- Vocational Guidance, 136, 212
- Volitional Action, 179ff, 188
- Vomiting, 184
- WIDOWHOOD, 266
- Will, 179
- Word Blindness, *congenital*, 94
- World, Children's, 232ff
- X-RAYS, *interpretation of*, 60

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